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The Society wishes it to be understood that the responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

LOCAL ANTIQUARIANS, THORNBOROUGH RINGS, AND OTHER PREHISTORIC MONUMENTS NEAR RIPON

By R. A. Hall

Descriptions, discussions and interpretations of henges and barrows in the vicinity of Ripon, originally published by local antiquarians, are presented as examples of mid-Victorian archaeological thought in Yorkshire. Some newly discovered archive material – plans and cross-sections of henges, including Thornborough Rings, a drawing relating to the excavation of a barrow near the Hutton Moor henge, and illustrations of two Bronze Age spearheads, one from Hutton Moor, the other from Rainton-cum-Newby – add detail to one of these accounts.

INTRODUCTION

There is much current interest in Thornborough Rings; three closely adjacent henge monuments located about five miles north-north-west of Ripon and just about one mile from Tanfield. The site – the henges, their immediate surrounds and the wider landscape of this area – is presently the focus of a research project directed by Dr Jan Harding of the Archaeology Department of the University of Newcastle. His work builds upon a series of investigations over the last fifty years, many of which have been reported in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Key articles include N. Thomas, 'The Thornborough Circles, near Ripon, North Riding' in volume 38 (1955); F. de M. Vatcher 'Thornborough Cursus, Yorks.' in volume 40 (1960); and D. P. Dymond 'The "henge" monument at Nunwick, near Ripon: 1961 excavation' in volume 41 (1964). Unsurprisingly, however, long before the name henge was coined for this class of earthwork in 1932, the date and purpose of these and other nearby monuments were topics for speculation.

HENGE MONUMENTS NEAR RIPON

One of the fullest and earliest comments on the Thornborough earthworks, although unfortunately an anonymous one, is found appended to a short description of Tanfield village at pages 557–58 in Volume II of the *History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire*. This work was published by Whellan and Co. at Beverley in 1859, before either of the other two antiquarians discussed here had made any substantial comment in print about these monuments. The passage is quoted here in full:-

'Earthworks. – Between Nosterfield and Thornborough, on the Camp House farm, are extensive earthworks called the *Saxon Camps*. They are three enormous entrenchments, all of the same size, and circular in form, and consists each, first, of a high rampart above 40 feet in breadth, and 15 feet in height; secondly, of a ditch, 10 feet deep in some parts, within which is a plain and level area nearly 600 feet in diameter. The external rampart forms a ring enclosing a large level space, but on the north and south sides a portion of each rampart is left open, so as to form two entrances, and thus a clear road or passage is effected into and through the three circles; as the north entrance to the first circle is in a line with

the south entrance of the second, and the north of the second faces the south of the third. Thus the three circles constitute one great work. The distance between the north and middle circle is about 660 yards, and that between the middle and the south one 1,100 yards. The north circle is in a good state of preservation, and covered with an oak plantation, by which its character and construction have escaped destruction. The middle one is tolerably preserved, but that on the south has lost much of its original magnitude, although the general character is yet well preserved.

These gigantic remains of former ages have been severally considered to be the work of Britons, Saxons, and Romans, but without any conclusive evidence in support of the opinion. The solution of the question is rendered more difficult, as such various uses have been assigned to them, but they certainly have the appearance of defensive works, and are marked on some maps as "Saxon Camps" - an opinion which will scarcely bear investigation. The idea that they are relics of Roman workmanship receives some apparent corroboration from the fact of their neighbourhood to a Roman road (that from Aldburgh to Burgh), but their circular form, their situation in an open moor, on low ground, and all absence of Roman remains, seem to negative their Roman origin. Another opinion is, that, although Roman, they are not camps, but a species of hippodrome, constructed for the exhibition of sports and games. Gibson, in his edition of Camden, believes them to have been tilting circles, the ramparts, which he calls terraces, being allotted for the spectators, who sat round whilst the champions entered at the opposite entrances. The evidence in favour of their British origin is derived from the general character of the remains. They are said to resemble the works at Abor-low, in Derbyshire (See vol. i., p. 49), which is pretty generally supposed to have been a place for the administration of justice and the assembly of Councils; but at Arbor-low there is in addition a large circle of immense stones.

It seems to us, with some degree of probability, that the construction of the Tanfield earthworks might be attributed to the Danes; for it appears that, previously to the Norman Conquest, the lands here were held by *Archil* and *Torchil*, who are generally thought to have been Danes. This is corroborated by the name of the place, for, by substituting the initial D for that of T, it becomes Danfield, or *Danesfield*, as it occurs in old records. This substitution of one letter for the other is not gratuitous, as we find by the inscription on a curious and ancient font in the Church of Bridekirk, in Cumberland, that the Danes call themselves *Tannermen**. Their barrow remains prove these people to have been in the habit of erecting large monuments of earth. Our ignorance of the especial construction of Danish camps, if camps these entrenchments are, is a great difficulty in forming an opinion respecting their Scandinavian origin.

Between the middle and north circle is a tumulus, the excavation of which might probably determine by which people these huge earthworks were raised.

*The Runic inscription on the font alluded to above has been thus translated -

"Here Ekard was converted; and to this man's example were the Danes brought".

It can be said at once that the comments relating to the Bridekirk (Cumbria) font are now recognised to be totally erroneous, based on an inability to read the runic inscription correctly; the inscription is actually a rhyming couplet of mid twelfth-century date, relating to the font's manufacture:- '*Rikard has me wrought, and to this glory carefully me brought*'.

The authorship of this description of the Thornborough henges remains an intriguing mystery. The Reverend Lukis, a keen antiquarian soon to be installed as Rector of nearby Wath, had not yet appeared upon the local scene; and it seems unlikely that it was the work of the Ripon antiquary John Richard Walbran. The passage does not mention other similar monuments in the vicinity of Ripon that had already been briefly referred to in print by him, and nor does it record the existence of other tumuli that he discussed. Furthermore,

the suggestion that the earthworks were constructed by the Danes is not one that Walbran ever proposed.

Walbran (1818-1869) lived all his life in Ripon. He is probably best known today as the author of a guide-book to Ripon and its neighbourhood variously entitled *The Pictorial Pocket Guide to Ripon and Harrogate...or some such name*. First published in 1844, it went through many editions, the majority of them posthumously. Confusingly, different copies of the same edition are slightly inconsistent in the date of publication which they proclaim – hence the alternative dates for some of them given below. In successive editions can be traced the evolution of Walbran's ideas about Thornborough and other monuments in the vicinity, and the further development of these ideas in the hands of his later editors. The first, second and third editions (the latter of 1848/9) made no mention of Thornborough or related monuments; I have not located a copy of the fourth edition, but by the time the fifth edition appeared in 1851 the *Introduction* had been extended and Thornborough was included. The passage dealing with the prehistoric period is as follows:

‘...the immediate vicinity of Ripon was regarded with peculiar interest and veneration; since one of the tribes of the Brigantian Celts had chosen it as their station for the dispensation of justice and the celebration of religious rites; in fact, had made it the seat of their government. This position - novel as it may be – is, I believe, sufficiently proved by a remarkable earth-work on the high land near “Blows [correctly Blois] Hall”, commanding extensive prospects up and down the Vale of Ure, as well as of the distant ranges of hills which form the side screens of the great Yorkshire plain. Like Abury and Stonehenge, which it rivals in antiquity, its outline is that of a circle, of which the diameter is not less than 680 feet; but no stones remain, nor indeed does that material seem to have been used in its formation. Though recent agricultural operations have partially effaced the regularity and proportion of its plan, it is sufficiently evident that it was enclosed by a lofty mound and corresponding trench – the latter being inside, and a platform or space about thirty feet wide intervening. This opinion, however, may be reduced to certainty, by inspection of the three similar temples at Thornborough, near Tanfield, about six miles hence, one of which remains perfect. At two opposite points, bearing nearly north and south, the mound and trench, for about the space of twenty-five feet, have been discontinued, in order to form an approach to the area of the temple. Outside the mound, also, are some slight vestiges of a further avenue, but too indefinite to be traced. But, however obscure the denotation of its several parts may have become, the antiquity and purpose of the place, as a temple for the performance of Druidical rites, is satisfactorily ascertained by the existence of at least eight large Celtic Barrows in its immediate vicinity...’.

This monument north-east of Blois Hall is known today as the Hutton Moor henge. From the sixth edition (1856/7) onwards, Walbran amended this passage to include mention of a second similar earthwork ‘in a field called Cana’, south-east of Blois Hall, today known as the Cana Barn henge. More recently yet another henge has been identified nearby, at Nunwick. Careful reading of the passage shows that Walbran's wording sometimes leaves uncertainty about which henge is being described; the description could be taken as applying solely to the Hutton Moor henge except for the one sentence in which Thornborough is named.

In the posthumous eleventh edition of the *Guide to Ripon*, published in 1874 after revision by the two noted antiquaries, the Reverend Canon James Raine

and William Fowler Stephenson, there was a separate paragraph about the Thornborough henges which had, however, been deleted by the time of the thirteenth edition (1876). Tacked on to a few pages devoted to West Tanfield, it reads as follows:

‘At a distance of a little more than a mile north-east of Tanfield there are some remarkable earthworks. They were supposed to be Roman, because the Roman vicinal way from Leeming Lane to Bracchium passed near. But no Roman remains have been found, and their circular form, as well as their situation on an open moor, negative this idea. The examination of adjacent tumuli, and the discovery of rude pottery, chipped flints, and other fragments, plainly indicate an early British, if not a pre-historic period’.

The third early commentator quoted here was the Reverend W. C. Lukis, who from 1862 until his death in 1892 was Rector of Wath, a parish about 5 miles north of Ripon. In 1869 his article entitled ‘On the Flint Implements and Tumuli of the Neighbourhood of Wath’ appeared in Part 2 of the first volume of the *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, published on behalf of the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, and forerunner of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. This essay may be the work referred to in the twelfth edition of Walbran’s *Guide*, again edited by Raine and Stephenson (1875/6, 3). There it was stated, *vis-à-vis* the tumuli, that: ‘In 1865 the Scientific Society published a pamphlet on this subject, which was edited by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, and contains all the recent discoveries.’ It has not been possible to identify which ‘Scientific Society’ was referred to; nor has it been possible to locate a pamphlet by Lukis published in 1865. Perhaps it was Lukis’s contribution to the *Yorkshire Topographical and Archaeological Journal* in 1869 that had prompted this reference.

In this article Lukis remarked that both the groups of barrows to which it referred lay near:

‘... small circular entrenched enclosures called camps by the inhabitants, and marked as camps in the ordnance maps. I am not disposed to regard them as defensive military earthworks, for several reasons – firstly, because they are small, having in each instance a diameter within the vallum of about 178 yards, and within the internal fosse of 100 yards only; secondly, because they have, in each instance, a fosse both without and within the vallum; thirdly, because, from their similarity of construction, they must have been erected by the same people, and yet are, in the case of those near Thornborough, in Tanfield parish, within a distance of only a few hundred yards from each other. Their forms suggest the idea of their having been constructed for pacific purposes, either for permanent cattle pens (cattle constituting the wealth of a primitive people, and requiring protection from the attacks of the wild beasts inhabiting the surrounding extensive forests), or for places of religious assembly, or for the exhibition of periodical games. It must be noted that the entrances to each enclosure are opposite to one another, and have all the same orientation, suggesting the idea that a continuous roadway passed through all of them. If this were so, it is obvious that the earthworks must be anterior to the erection of “Centre Hill” Tumulus, which lies exactly in the line of this supposed roadway, and that their use must have been long discontinued; or else that they are the work of another people who had no respect for the tomb ...’.

Among the illustrations accompanying this article was a ‘MAP showing the situation of EARTHWORKS AND TUMULI’ (Fig. 1). Reproduced originally

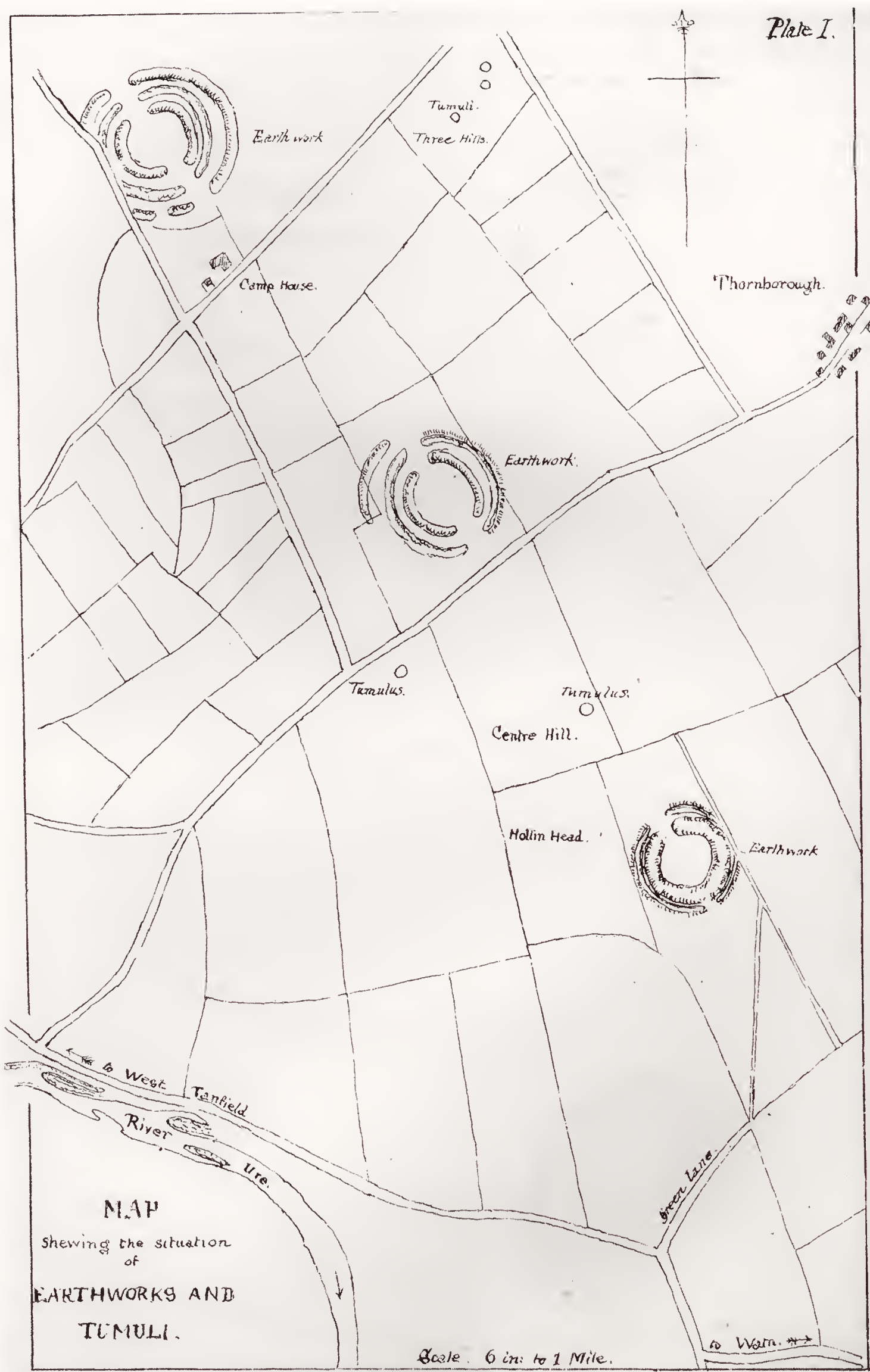


Fig. 1. 'Map shewing the situation of the EARTHWORKS AND TUMULI' near Thornborough, accompanying the article by Rev. W. C. Lukis published in the *Yorkshire Topographical and Archaeological Journal* in 1869

at a scale of 6 inches to 1 mile, it showed the three henges, each of which was labelled *Earthwork*, together with the adjacent tumuli.

This plan isn't quite the earliest detailed record of the topography for, as Lukis's comments indicated, the Ordnance Survey had already mapped the area at a scale of 1:10,560 (6 inches to 1 mile) in their 1856 coverage, on which each of the Thornborough Rings is labelled *camp*.

To these published comments about Thornborough there can now be added some hitherto unrecognised archival material. The new information is contained within one of a series of Walbran's notebooks, now deposited in York Minster Archives (YMA Hailstone QQ 25). They contain notes, written in an often impenetrable handwriting, on an eclectic variety of antiquarian topics – heraldry, architecture, history, genealogy, art, etc. – mainly related to Yorkshire. They



Fig. 2. Drawing from Walbran's Notebook 3' York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster

also contain illustrations, including ground plans of churches, views of a variety of buildings, details of tomb slabs and other monuments, and sketches of landscapes; Walbran was quite an accomplished draughtsman.

Dispersed throughout the un-numbered pages within one of these notebooks (annotated by Walbran as 'No. 3'), there is a series of illustrations of relevance here. One page is virtually filled by four concentric, compass-drawn circles forming three relatively narrow rings and enclosing a relatively wide central space (Fig. 2). These are not complete rings, however; there is straight break at both their top and bottom. Furthermore, both the inner and outer rings are shaded in such a way as to bring a three-dimensional impression to the page. In contrast, the unshaded middle ring, between the two shaded ones, remains two-dimensional – that is, flat. It seems reasonable to interpret this drawing as



Fig. 3. Measured sketch plan and cross-section from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster

representing the plan of a henge monument – an outer embankment or rampart, surrounding a flat, level space within which, in turn, there was a ditch.

The right hand page on the next opening contains what looks like a rougher sketch for the more polished drawing just discussed. This one, however, is annotated with figures, which represent an unnamed unit – presumably feet (Fig. 3). The outer ring is 60 units wide, the middle ring is 47 units wide, and the inner ring is 62 units wide. A separate measurement records that the distance across the central axis / diameter between the inner edges of the outer circle is 529 units. And in one corner of the page there is a sum, in which 529 is added to 120 (i.e. twice the 60 unit width of the outer circle) to provide a total diameter of 649 units. The gaps, representing the breaks at top and bottom of the circle, are annotated as 25 units wide. At the top of the page there is a stylised cross-section in which there is a rampart which measures 36 ft 4 in (10.15 m) up each of its sloping sides, and which was separated by a level area from a ditch which had sloping sides and a flat base.

Neither of these drawings is labelled with a name or location; their interpretation as plans and cross-section of henge monuments seems plausible, but they could represent any of the henges in the Ripon area (or even, theoretically, elsewhere). Earlier in the notebook is another unlabelled cross-section with a different, flatter and more angular appearance, which seems to represent a bank and ditch. It is annotated with units of dimension that indicate a much slighter monument than the henge represented by the cross-section noted above. This drawing may therefore be unrelated to the other drawings under discussion, but is nonetheless illustrated here (Fig. 4).

At the top of a further page there is yet another cross-section sketch (Fig. 5). Again, this was annotated with measurements, although different ones from those on the other drawing. Another difference was that in place of the angular ditch there was one with a more rounded profile. The most important element of this drawing, however, is its caption: - 'Section of Circular Earth Work at

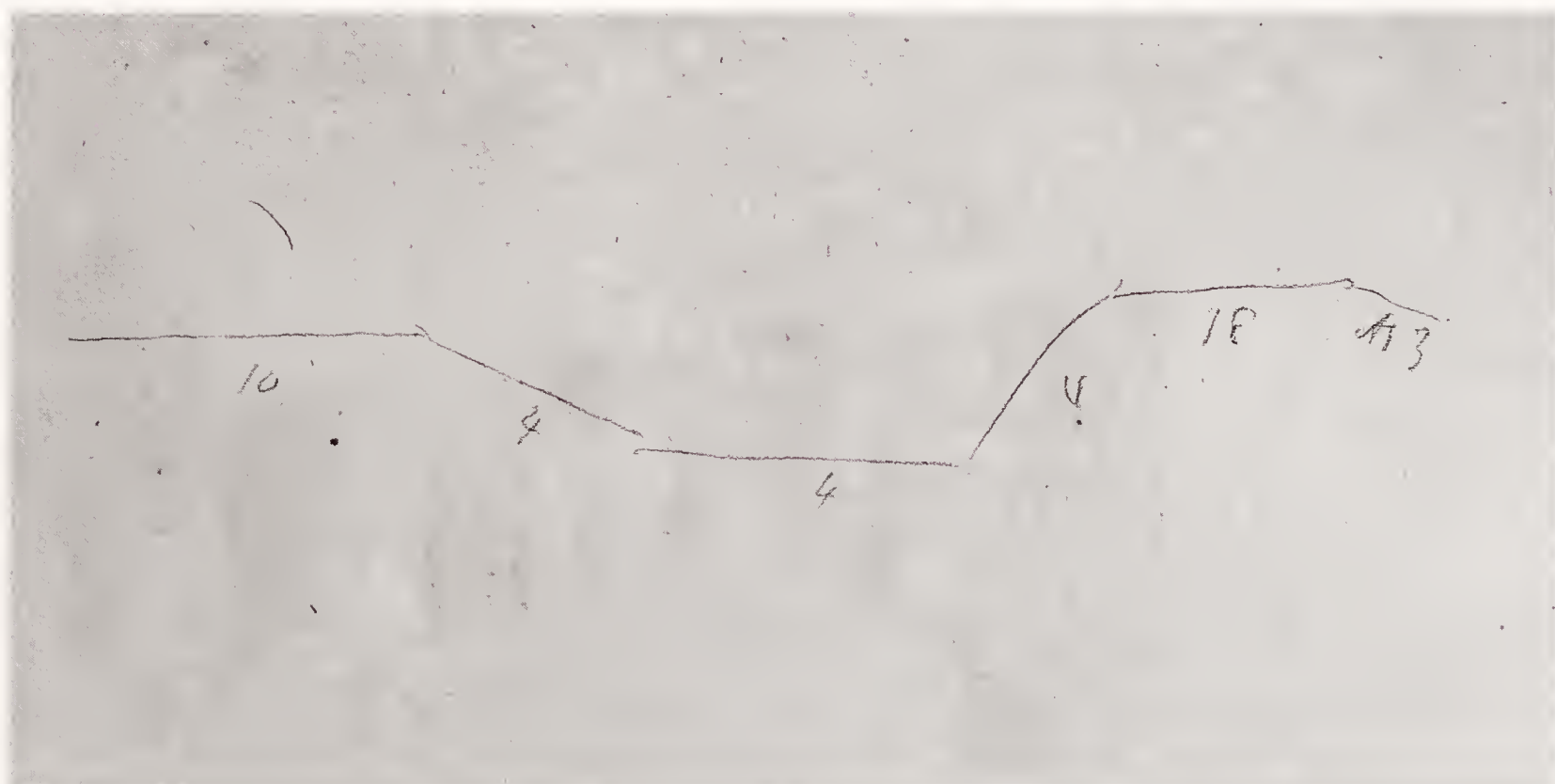


Fig. 4. Measured profile or cross-section from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster

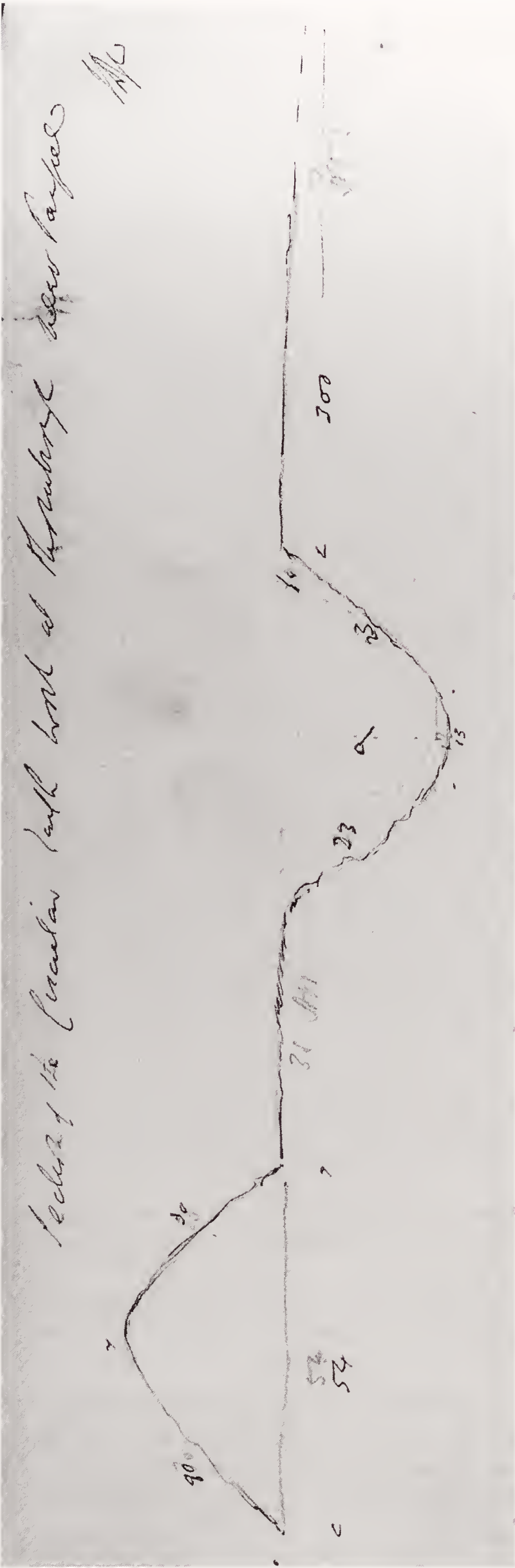


Fig. 5. 'Section of Circular Earth Work at Thornborough near Tanfield' from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster

Thornborough near Tanfield'. Beneath this are the initials J. R. W. One final testament to Walbran's interest in henges comes from the flyleaf of his own copy of the fifth edition of his *Guide to Ripon*, now in York Minster Library. There, entwined with his autograph signature, is a small pencil sketch (Fig. 6). I suggest that this, too, is a representation of the plan of a henge monument.

BARROWS NEAR RIPON

The proximity of barrows to several of the henges in the Ripon area has been mentioned in various of the passages quoted above, and both Walbran and Lukis commented further about them. In the posthumous eleventh edition of the *Guide* (1874, 150), Walbran's editors, Raine and Stephenson, included a final sentence to their interpolation about the Thornborough henges:

'The examination of adjacent tumuli, and the discovery of rude pottery, chipped flints, and other fragments, plainly indicate an early British, if not a pre-historic period'.

This paragraph had, however, been deleted by the time of the thirteenth edition (1876).

Although excavation was not Walbran's primary interest, he referred in the fifth edition of the *Guide* (1851, 3) to the exploration of two tumuli near the Hutton Moor monument. He called them 'Celtic Barrows' and briefly stated that he had found little:

'Two of these barrows were opened five years ago, but I found nothing but a few calcined human bones, the ashes of the oaken funeral pile, and

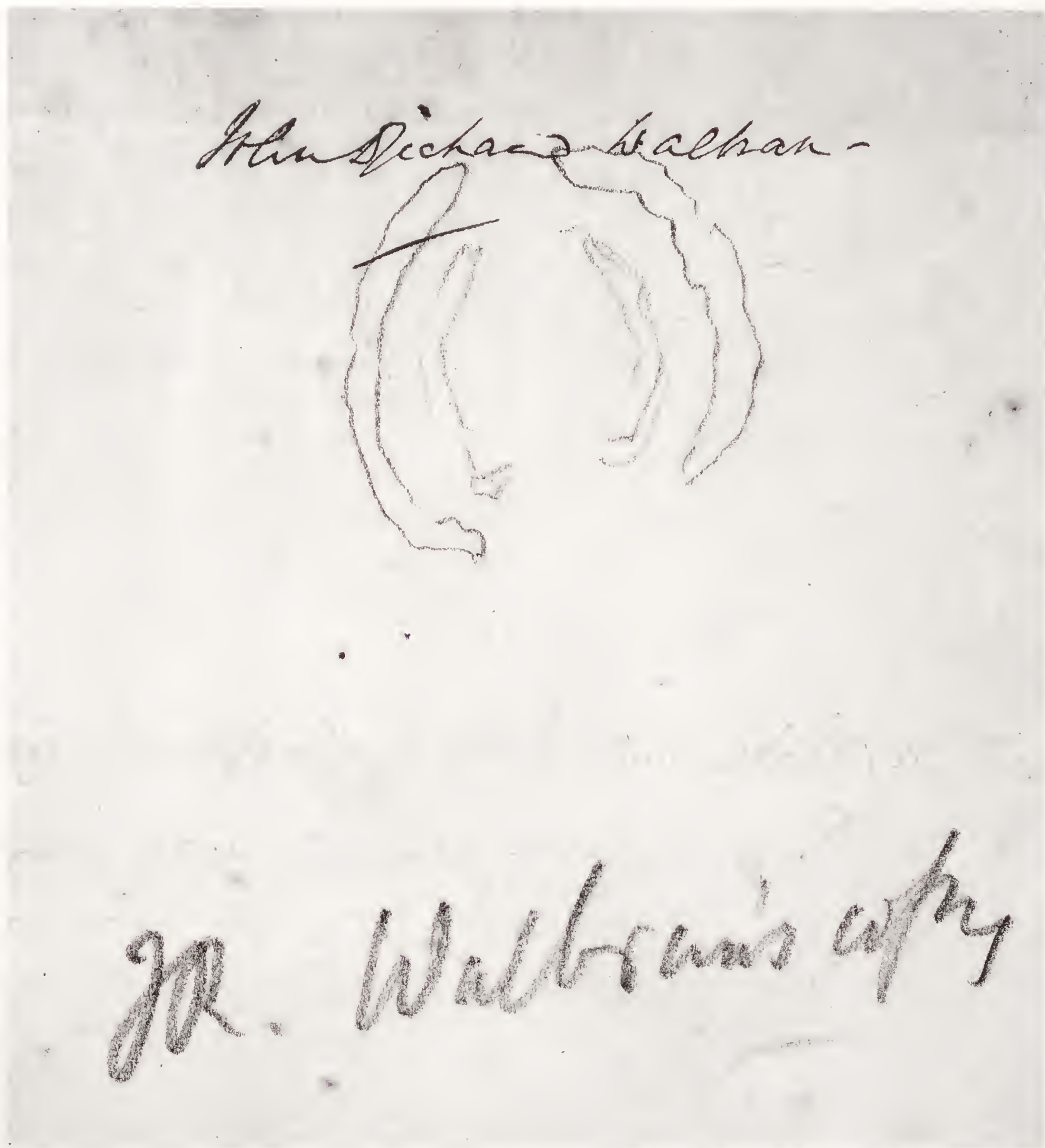


Fig. 6. Detail from the flyleaf of Walbran's autograph copy of the fifth edition of his *Guide to Ripon*, York Minster Library. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.

some fragments of flint arrow-heads, such as are still used by the North-American Indians. Several bronze spear-heads and celts have, however, been found in the neighbourhood, within recollection.'

Further information about one of these investigations is found in William Harrison's *Ripon Millenary Record*, published in 1892 and drawing on what is described as *Nicholson's MS* as well, presumably, as personal recollection of events nearly half a century earlier. It briefly reports that on 11 November 1846 Henry Nicholson, Walbran and Harrison

'opened a barrow (funeral) about three quarters of a mile east of Blois Hall,

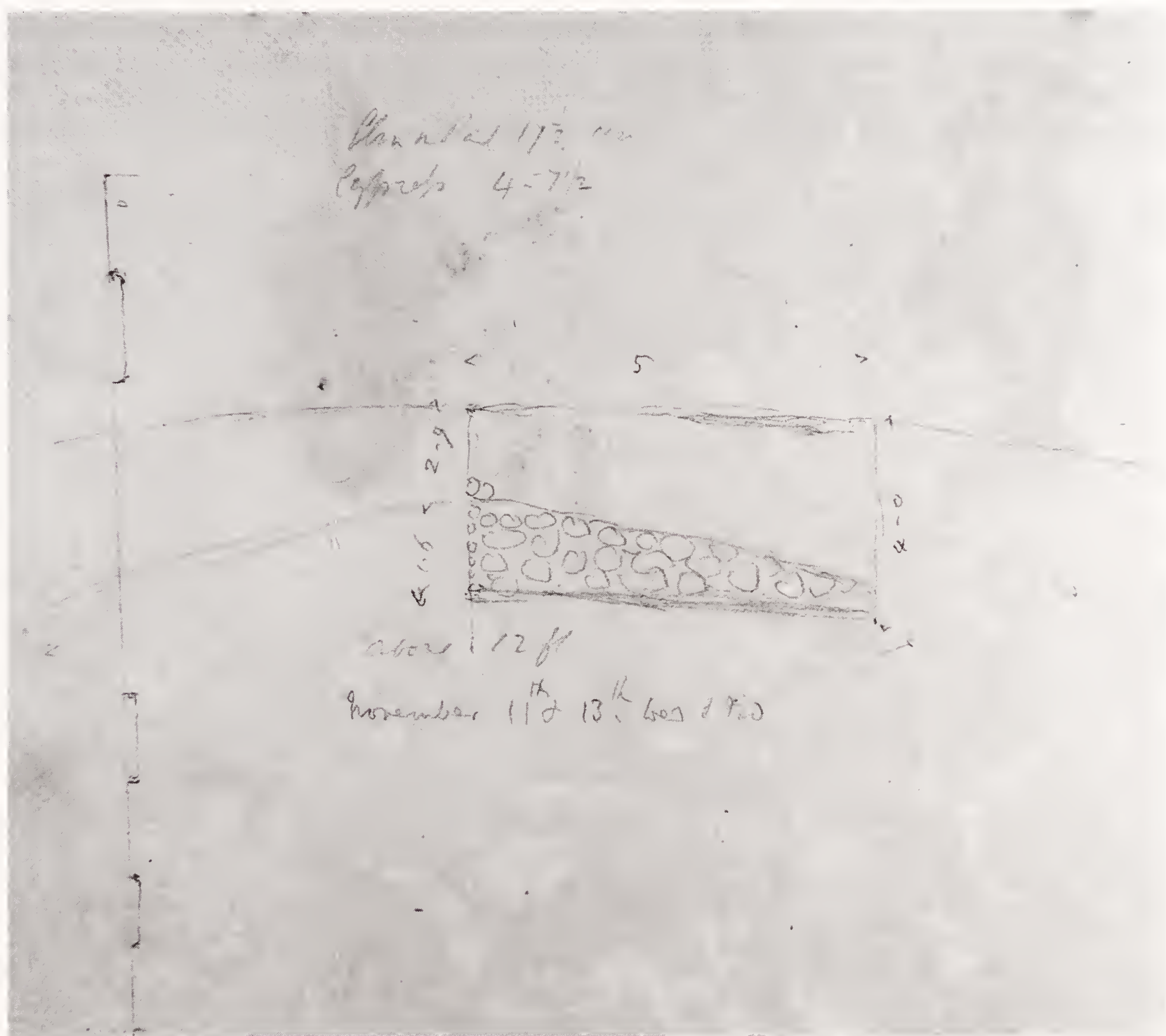


Fig. 7. Cross-section drawing from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster

Hutton Moor, but found nothing beyond a few isolated pieces of charcoal and loose stones'.

On 13 November they:

'Re-opened the barrow on the east side, and at a depth of about five feet came to a heap of stones mingled with charcoal, but found no bones; the fire (the operation of which was visible on the cobbles) having apparently annihilated all osseous remains. The centre of the hill appearing to indicate the nucleus of the funeral rite. Immediately upon these cobbles was a circular covering of sand, or light-coloured soft soil, forming a sectional arch at the top, about a foot high'.

Walbran's notebook, already referred to above, further amplifies these comments. On one page, partly within an incomplete sketch-plan of a building, possibly a church, is drawn the cross-section of a trench dug into a shallow mound (Fig. 7). The cutting was 5 ft (1.5 m) long and reached a maximum depth of about 4 ft 3 in (1.3 m). Some 2 ft 9 in (0.8 m) or more beneath the ground surface was what the planning conventions suggest was a stone cairn,

about 12 ft (3.65 m) in diameter and at least 1 ft 6 in (0.45 m) high. The location of this feature is not given; a caption states only that the work was undertaken on 11 and 13 November, a Wednesday and a Friday; but the year is not stated. However, in 1846, the year suggested by Walbran's comment in the fifth edition



Spear head of Bronze found on Hutton Moor.

Fig. 8. 'Spear head of Bronze found on Hutton Moor' from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.

of his *Guide to Ripon* to be that in which he had excavated two barrows near the Hutton Moor monument, 11 November did indeed fall on a Wednesday. Thus it seems likely that this drawing represents a previously unknown record of one of these barrow excavations. The location mentioned by Harrison suggests



Fig. 9. 'Full size spear head of Bronze, found near ***** Aug 1849' from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.

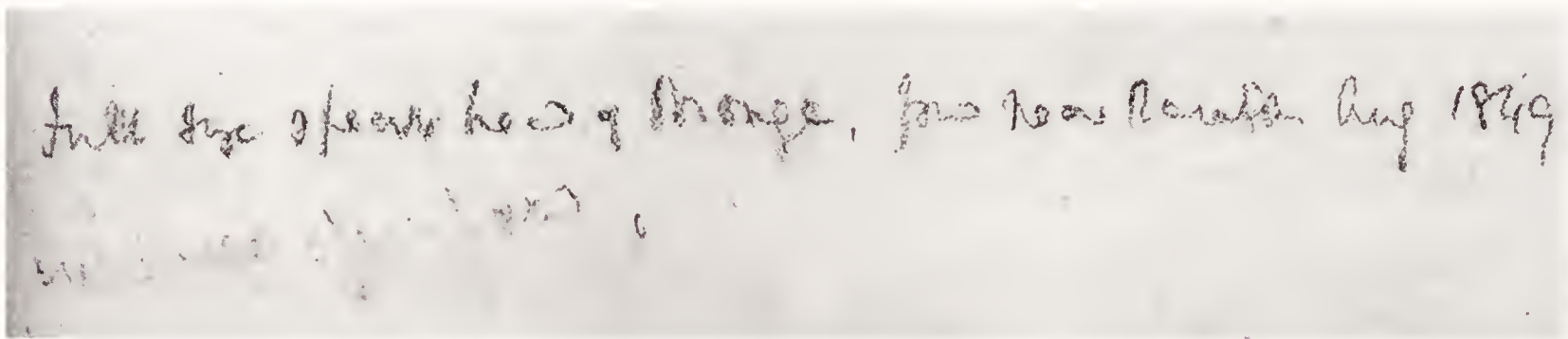


Fig. 10. Detail of the caption to the illustration shown above in Fig. 9, from Walbran's Notebook 3, York Minster Archives Hailstone QQ 25. Published by permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.

that the barrow in question may be that indicated as 'Tumulus (site of)' on the Ordnance Survey 1:25000 First Series map of Ripon (1953, revised 1970); this stood some 1300 yards east of Blois Hall, mid-way between the Hutton Moor and Cana Barn henges. If it was not this barrow, then it was one of the other ones that stand quite close to this spot.

The notebook also contains a drawing captioned 'Spearhead of Bronze found on Hutton Moor' (Fig. 8). As drawn, it measures 157 mm (6 1/8 inches) long; but it is not stated whether this is a 1:1 drawing. It may have been to this example, amongst others, that Walbran was referring when he wrote 'several bronze spear-heads and celts have, however, been found in the neighbourhood, within recollection'. The page opposite this also has a drawing of a spearhead; this one is captioned 'Full size spear head of Bronze, found near ***** Aug 1849' (Fig. 9). The drawing shows an object that was 272mm (10 3/4 in) long. The location name initially defied decipherment, and is given here in enlarged format (Fig. 10). The shape and wear pattern of the blade make it likely, however, that this is the spearhead from Rainton cum Newby described and illustrated in an anonymous note entitled 'Bronze weapon and implements found at Rainton-Cum-Newby' published in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 20 (1909), 103-4. This report asserts that the object, measuring 11 inches (280 mm) in length, was a single find, made in about 1856, while digging a drain at a depth of about 4 ft, about half a mile north of the village of Rainton. 'Considerable remains of the wooden haft' had also survived, but had disappeared by 1909, when the spearhead was in the possession of Peter Stevenson of The Chantry, West Tanfield. This report of its length is very close to the dimensions shown in Walbran's drawing; and the drawing of this Rainton spearhead that appears in Colin Burgess's *Bronze Age Metalwork in Northern England* (1968, fig. 16, 3) also shows it to be 10 3/4 inches long, albeit that drawing is itself a copy of an earlier illustration rather than a first-hand representation of the object. Intriguingly, 10 3/4 inches is also the length of another spearhead attributed by Burgess (*ibid*, fig. 14, 3) to 'Ripon area, Yorkshire'. The two drawings, albeit at different scales, show in mirror image what seem to be closely similar spearheads, with virtually identical patterns of wear around the blade; it seems likely that they represent a single find that can be provenanced to Rainton-cum-Newby. The catalogue that concludes Burgess's work attributes the Rainton-cum-Newby spearhead to Ripon Museum, but states that it was 'Missing [in] 1965'; the spearhead from the 'Ripon area' is likewise attributed to Ripon Museum, and designated L.39. This latter spearhead is now in the collection of Harrogate Museums and Arts. It does not appear that the spearhead from Hutton Moor was with the material

passed to Harrogate from the former Ripon Museum.

Rev. Lukis, who apparently didn't know (or ignored) the fact that two of the barrows near the Hutton Moor monument had been dug into by Walbran just over twenty years earlier, in 1846, concluded his article 'On the Flint Implements and Tumuli of the Neighbourhood of Wath' with a trenchant comment (1869, 124-25):

'I have abstained from any attempt to assign a date to these grave-hills, because no one can do so with any degree of certainty. Attempts of this kind have been too common and have been often based upon insufficient data. The only way of approximating to it is to compare the results of barrow diggings in different parts of the country. Unfortunately excavations have been conducted in many places so carelessly and unscientifically that no safe conclusions can be drawn from them. The mere treasure-seeker has done irreparable injury to the cause of science. The employment of paid labourers to do the work which should be done by the Antiquary himself is always unsatisfactory. No one should undertake barrow-digging who fears blistering his hands. The eye of the explorer should be directed to every spadeful of earth, and he should carefully note the manner in which the mound is constructed and the interments are deposited. One of the most extensive grave-diggers that England has ever produced (Sir R. Colt Hoare, Bart.), who has left behind him a very costly record of his labours in Wiltshire, exemplifies this remark. No volumes could contain less useful information in proportion to their bulk. We search through them almost in vain for intimations as to the materials of the barrows, the mode of their construction, and the position of the skeletons; and we are led to the conclusion that the principal, if not the sole, object of the investigator was the possession of the articles which had been deposited with the human remains. The object of barrow openers should not be mere gratification of curiosity, nor the accumulation of ancient works of art... With regard to the barrows of our neighbourhood, I have given my reasons for thinking that they belong to a pre-Roman period; but I am not prepared to say more than this at present" (Lukis 1869, 124-25).

The present programme of research should allow a lot more to be said in the near future.

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I am particularly grateful to Peter Young, Archivist at York Minster Archives, and equally to John Powell in York Minster Library, for their help in facilitating ready access to these documents and books. Extracts are reproduced here by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of York Minster.

Mick Stanley, Director of Ripon Local Studies Centre, assisted me by checking for details of Ripon Scientific Society. Mary Kershaw, Director of Collections at York Museums Trust and Ros Watson, Curator of Human History at Harrogate Museum and Arts, helped me with research into the current whereabouts of the spearheads. Mike Andrews took the pictures that are reproduced here.

THE WATCHTOWERS AND FORTLETS ON THE NORTH YORKSHIRE COAST (*Turres et Castra*)*

By J. G. F. Hind

*Using literary and archaeological evidence, in combination with inscriptions and numismatic data, this paper considers the date, contemporary terminology and purpose of the series of late fourth-century Roman fortified sites, conventionally known as 'signal-stations', located on the Yorkshire coast at Huntcliff, Goldsborough, Scarborough, Filey and on the evidence of an inscription Ravenscar. The traditional dating of AD 368/9 is favoured, as is the adoption of the term 'towers and fortlets' (called *burgi* on the Rhine-Danube frontier) in preference to 'signal-stations'. The security of the late Roman high command and army in this northern province, based on York, is suggested as their primary purpose.*

The five towers and the fortlets around them, which were erected on the Yorkshire coast in the last third of the fourth century AD and abandoned (some seemingly in violent circumstances) in the early years of the fifth, have been given dramatic prominence by some scholars,¹ but by others have been almost ignored in discussion of the demise of the diocese of the *Britanniae*.² The Latin terms used for these fortifications, their date of construction and their precise defensive role, have all been left ill-defined or the subject of differing opinion. They are most frequently described as 'signal-stations',³

¹ This was all due to the finding of human bones in the wells at Huntcliff and Goldsborough and to the discovery of two complete human skeletons and one of a large dog in the tower at Goldsborough (found in 1918), which were labelled 'sensational discoveries', W. Hornsby and J. V. Laverock, 'A Roman signal-station at Goldsborough', *Archaeol. J.* 89 (1932), 203–19; R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1934), 46; H. Ramm, *The Parisi* (London, 1978), 126–29; S. S. Frere, *Britannia* (London, 1987), 365; P. Ottaway, *Romans on the Yorkshire Coast* (York, 1996), 19.

² J. Wachter, *Roman Britain* (London, 1978); M. Todd, *Roman Britain 55 BC – AD 400, The Province Beyond the Ocean* (Brighton, 1981); T. W. Potter and C. Johns, *Roman Britain* (London, 1992); M. E. Jones, *The End of Roman Britain* (London, 1996); T. W. Potter, *Roman Britain* (London, 1997).

³ R. G. Collingwood, *A Roman Signal Station on Castle Hill* (Scarborough, 1925); Collingwood (1934), 44–45 (see n. 1); R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1937), 285; M. P. Charlesworth, *The Lost Province or the Worth of Britain* (Cardiff, 1949), 25; 49; I. A. Richmond, 'The Fourth Century AD and After', in I. A. Richmond (ed.), *Roman and Native in North Britain* (Oxford, 1961), 126–27; Richmond, *Roman Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 63 ('great towers to signal the approach of sea-raiders'); R. G. Collingwood and I. A. Richmond, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (London, 1969), 64–65; R. J. A. Wilson, *Roman Remains in Britain* (London, 1975) ('a signal tower'); P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain, BAR 71 British Series* (Oxford, 1979), 75–76; D. A. Welsby, *The Roman Military Defences of the British Provinces in its Later Phases, BAR 101, British Series* (Oxford, 1982), 116–17; G. D. B. Jones and D. Mattingly, *An Atlas of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1990), 136–37; Ottaway (1996) (see n. 1) (the term signal station is used throughout); In his full publication of the excavations at Filey Ottaway suggests that their military function was as small fortlets as well as watch-towers, P. Ottaway, 'Excavations on the site of the Roman signal-station at Carr Naze, Filey, 1993–94', *Archaeol. J.* 157 (2000), 189; Haywood takes them to be signal stations, warning of attack from across the North Sea, J. Haywood, *Dark Age Naval Power – A reassessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity* (Hockwold, 1999), 69; For Bell they were 'signalling platforms designed with defence in mind, 'A Roman signal station at Whitby', *Archaeol. J.* 155 (1998), 305.

though also as 'watch-towers' or 'fortlets'.⁴ Traditionally they have been attributed to the reconstruction ordered by *Comes* Theodosius after the disaster of AD 367/8 – a *barbarica conspiratio* of Picts, Scotti and Attacotti in the North and West, and the Saxones in the South-East of Britain and on the coast of continental *Belgica* and *Armorica*. According to this view they would have been built to the programme of Theodosius' emperor in the West, Valentinian I (AD 365–75).⁵

Alternatively they have been assigned to the time of Magnus Maximus just before or after his usurpation of the position of emperor in 383, supposedly in the follow-up to a victory over the Picts. The latest full study of a fortlet (that at Filey) also prefers this slightly later date.⁶ The difference between the two sets of events is only some 15 years, and archaeological evidence, with the possible exception of coin finds on the sites, is unable to date construction to the one rather than the other. During their short operational life the fortlets may have experienced attack by the Picts in AD 398/9, and then final abandonment by their peasant-soldier occupants after c. AD 405.⁷ Perhaps they simply atrophied *in situ*, after Constantius III had taken the last organised field army out of the island in AD 407. On any assessment the fortlets were the latest planned system of early warning and frontier defence in the Roman diocese, and are of great interest for that alone.⁸

The problem of their purpose and function has also been answered variously; they were intended to detect Pictish sea-raiders from their high points;⁹ they were used for signalling along the coast to other forts and to naval detach-

⁴ The Huntcliff example was labelled 'a fort' by Hornsby and Stanton, *J. Roman Studies* 2 (1912), 201–15; Johnson described them as 'a series of towers, look-out posts', S. Johnson, *Later Roman Britain* (London, 1980), 99; they are also 'signal stations', and on fig. 81 labelled *burgi*, in S. Johnson, *Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore* (London, 1976). They are 'towers overlooking landing-places', 'normally considered signal-stations', S. Johnson, *Late Roman Fortifications* (London, 1983), 212–13; 'well-fortified watch-towers', P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981), 383, 'fortlets', Jones and Mattingly (1990), 131 (see n. 3), but 'signal station', at 136–37, 'small fortifications', 'so-called signal-stations', A. H. Esmonde-Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London, 1989), 51; D. C. A. Shotter, *The Roman Frontier in Britain*, (Preston, 1996), 121, 'fortlets, called signal-stations', D. J. P. Mason, *Roman Britain and the Roman Navy* (Stroud, 2003), 183–86.

⁵ This was the date universally accepted until 1979. It is still espoused by P. R. Wilson, 'Aspects of the Yorkshire signal-stations', in V. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson, *Roman Frontier Studies* (Exeter, 1989), 142–47; Bell (1998), 305 (see n. 3); Pearson mentions both views as to the date of construction, with the earlier given greater prominence, A. Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (Stroud, 2002), 128.

⁶ P. J. Casey (1979), 75–76 (see n. 3); Welsby (1982), 116–17 (see n. 3); Ottaway (1996), 13–14 (see n. 3); Ottaway (2000), 183–99 (see n. 3); Brickstock (in Ottaway 2000), 131–40; P. Bidwell, *Roman Forts in Britain* (London, 1997), 43; 106–07.

⁷ The end of occupation of the fortlets cannot be established exactly, still less assigned to any event. It is usually assumed to have occurred in the early years of the fifth century (c. AD 402 or 405). There can have been only residual settlers in them after AD 407–11, the time of the usurper Constantius III, who went with the regular (field army) to the continent in AD 407. Casey's suggestion that they succumbed to some violent attack in the early fifth century is based on the latest coins of Honorius, P. J. Casey, 'The end of fort garrisons on Hadrian's Wall – a hypothetical model', in F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, *L'Armée Romaine et les Barbares du III^e au VII^e siècles* (Paris, 1994), 159–68.

⁸ Ottaway (1996), 14 (see n. 3); Bidwell (1997), 106 (see n. 6).

⁹ It seems likely that in the 'barbarian conspiracy' mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, the Picts would raid the area south of the east end of Hadrian's Wall, the Saxons the coast of the continent and south-east Britain, and the Scotti and Attacotti would raid western Britain from Ireland. These were the coasts most accessible to their homeland. Accordingly Ammianus says that in AD 360 the assailants in the North were Picti and Scotti (*Res Gestae* 20.1.1).

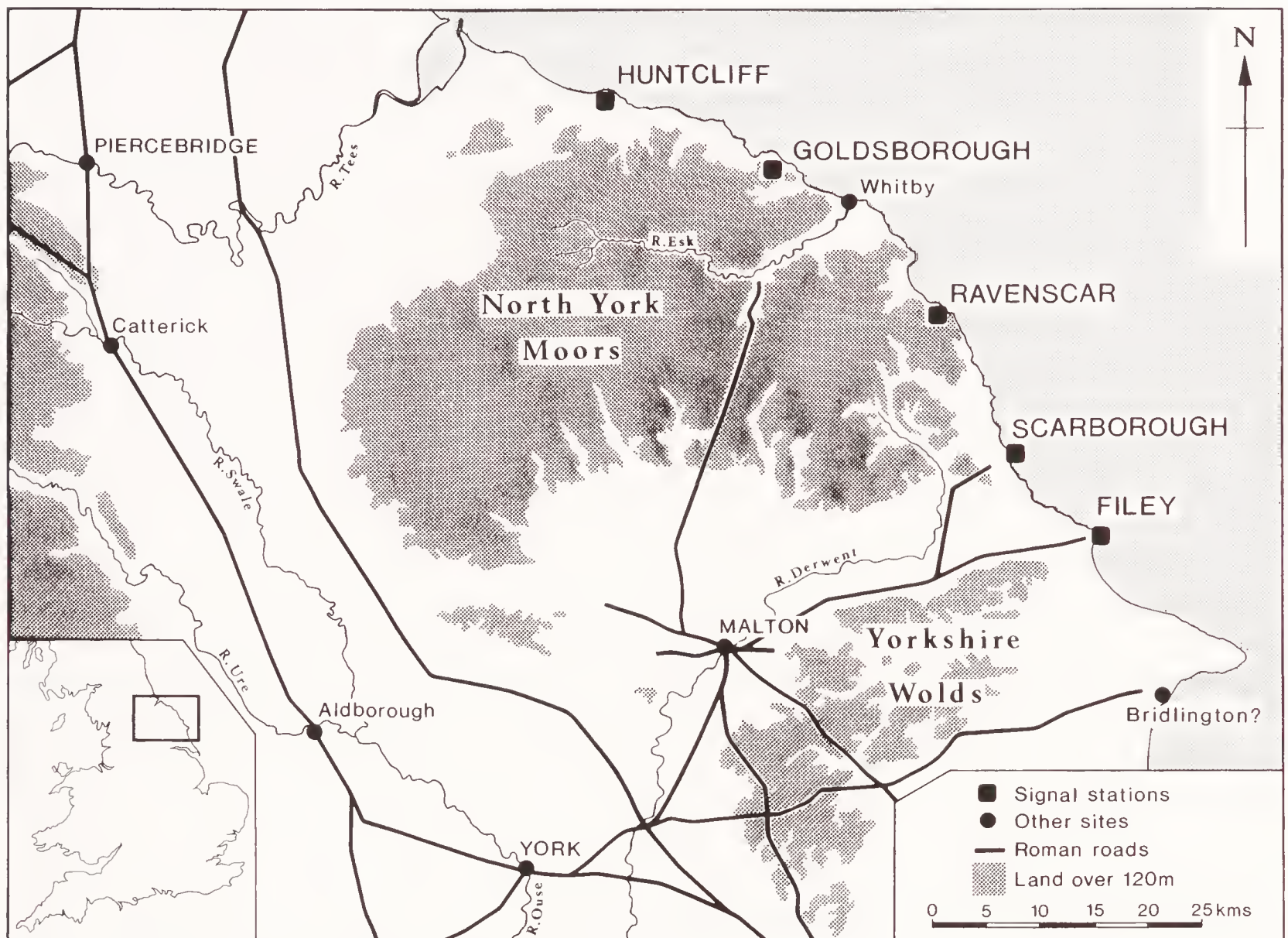


Fig. 1. Location of the Yorkshire 'signal-stations'

ments;¹⁰ they were guard-posts overlooking beaches where raiders might land;¹¹ they were sited to send advance warning inland to Malton, thought to be the base of the nearest military unit of any size, and certainly a major settlement and road-hub.¹² Some overlapping of purpose clearly is to be allowed for, including defence of people and crops in the locality, gathered together inside the fortlets. But we may also suppose a more centrally directed motivation for the considerable outlay and effort expended on this standardised set of structures, and this will be presented below.

The five fortlets with their centrally placed towers are spaced at slightly different intervals from Filey northward along the coast to Huntcliff south of Saltburn. It has been suggested that there may have been one more, further south, on Flamborough Head (the site of two successive modern lighthouses), and that others may have been eroded away from the coast of Durham.¹³ But,

¹⁰ Collingwood and Richmond... 65 (see n. 3); Frere (1987), 345 (see n. 1). There is, however, some doubt about intervisibility between towers along the coast, S. Johnson (1983), 212 (see n. 4); Wilson (1989), 142–47 (see n. 5); Bell (1998), 305–22 (see n. 3).

¹¹ S. Johnson (1983), 212 (see n. 3). Wilson, quite reasonably, suggests that the fortlets may have served as temporary refuges for local people at times when raiders rendered the locality dangerous (1989, 146, see n. 5).

¹² This strategy of conveying intelligence back to Malton is very commonly and reasonably assumed, e.g. Ramm (1978), 126 (see n. 1); I. Longworth, *Yorkshire, Regional Archaeologies* (London, 1967), 71; Haywood (1999), 69 (see n. 3). It is rather more rarely that the central command at York is supposed to have been closely interested, but see Collingwood and Myres (1937), 285 (see n. 3); Salway (1981), 384 (see n. 4); S. Johnson (1980), 99 (see n. 4).

¹³ Welsby (1982), 116–17 (see n. 2); Ottaway (1996), 16 (see n. 3); Bell (1998), 304–06 (see n. 3).

as nothing remains, nothing can be said of them. At Whitby a late Roman coastal settlement (possibly a 'signal-station') has also been proposed: pottery and coins, however, from the bounds of the Abbey (East Cliff area), now held in the Whitby Museum, are the only evidence of it.¹⁴

The fortlet at Filey was on the highest ground on Carr Naze; it looks down on the extensive stretch of beach the length of Filey Bay as well as out to sea.¹⁵ That at Scarborough is on the south-eastern cliff-edge within the outer bailey of the later castle looking over South Bay.¹⁶ Nine miles further north was the one at Ravenscar, with Robin Hood's Bay beyond.¹⁷ Goldsborough lies north of Whitby, looking over Runswick Bay.¹⁸ Furthest to the North Huntcliff stands on the edge of a cliff, and has a fine view of the long beach at Saltburn and of the Tees estuary.¹⁹ Clearly, all were set on high points, suitable look-outs for raiders, but they also overlook potential landing-points, some of which (Scarborough, Filey) were linked by roads with Malton and York.

The present state of these sites (or the state in which the excavators found them) varies from complete recovery of the plan at foundation level to total disappearance through erosion, or obliteration under a modern building. The Ravenscar fortlet has vanished completely; it is supposed that it lies beneath the Raven Hall hotel, a building erected in 1774. Goldsborough, by contrast, presented a complete plan to the archaeologists in 1918 and 1929. At Huntcliff only the southern wall of the central tower and that of its surrounding fortlet were available to the excavators in 1911. Much of the fortlet still remained at Scarborough at the time of the excavations of 1921-7; foundations are still to be seen on the cliff edge, representing the inner tower and outer walls and ditch, except on the eastern (cliff) side. This and the Goldsborough fortlet had, by the 1920s, allowed a typical ground-plan to be drawn for the series. Filey's fortlet was preserved only as a narrow strip on the top of the spear-point promontory known as Carr Naze. Progressively narrower slices of the central parts of the west and east ditches, outer walls and central tower, were shown up in plans of 1887, 1923 and 1993. The excavations of 1993/4 did, however, serve to confirm the standard elements and ground-level dimensions of these three components.²⁰

At all the sites, apparently, an inner tower with sides about 15 m square, and stone walls between 2 and 2.7 m thick at the base, was carried up beyond an off-set to a thickness of 1.7 m. Inside the tower, centrally disposed, were five, sometimes six stone-bases with slots, 17 cm square, for timber upright supports. These held, it is supposed, the flooring of an upper storey, and stone steps in a corner support this view. The height of these towers was supposed by the original excavators

¹⁴ Bell (1998), 307-22; D. C. A. Shotter 'Roman coins in the Whitby Museum', *YAJ* 71 (1999), 65-71. Bell's proposal for a Whitby tower, conjecturally restored, on the model of lighthouses (about 45 m high) at major ports, is hard to justify (1998, 315-19). The function of the known structures was rather as watchtowers (on a coastal frontier).

¹⁵ Ottaway (1996), 8-20 (see n. 3); Ottaway (2000), 88-113 (see n. 3).

¹⁶ Collingwood (1925) (see n. 3). Excavations of F. G. Simpson between 1921 and 1927.

¹⁷ Nothing can be said of Ravenscar except of its high vantage-point and its view of Robin Hood's Bay.

¹⁸ The site of Goldsborough is at Kettleness to the north of the village, Hornsby and Laverock (1932) (see n. 1). The fortlet and tower were re-visited by F. G. Simpson in 1929, Ottaway (1996), 7, 19 (see n. 3).

¹⁹ Hornsby and Stanton (see n. 4).

²⁰ Ottaway (2000), 183-99 (see n. 3); Wilson (1989), 142-47 (see n. 5).

and their followers to have been about 30 m; the latest treatment suggests a more moderate 15 m, including a parapet, if one existed, and extra height (up to 20 m) allowed for a roof.²¹ Even at this lower estimate their height would have been impressive, and, standing on their cliff-tops, they would have commanded an excellent view out to sea and down to the beaches in conditions when the notorious sea-fret (mist) did not obscure the coast.

Around the tower an area about 30 m square was enclosed by the walls of the fortlet (about one-third hectare). The corners of the walls were rounded, and had rounded towers projecting externally; their internal sides were rectilinear. A single gateway, with square turrets inturned, was set in the landward side. A well in one corner of the enclosure was a rare internal feature. These fortlet walls have been estimated to have had an original height of 4.5 m, rising from a ground-level thickness of 1.25 m. Beyond a broad level space outside these walls was a wide, but shallow, ditch (3.75 m wide; 1 m deep). The whole complex seems to have been designed to allow a small number of men (perhaps thirty or forty) to defend it with missiles fired from the tower over the outer wall and ditch.²²

The one site which has produced no ground-plan, Ravenscar, has yielded the sole inscription from these fortlets. Indeed it was this that first sparked antiquarian interest in them. It is also the latest official building-inscription from the British provinces as a whole.²³ In five lines of irregular lettering, typical of late fourth-century frontier works, it reads as follows:

Justinianus pp (= Praepositus)
Vindicianus
magister iurre
m castrum fec
a so lo

R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright,
RIB 1. 721.

‘Justinianus in charge of (the unit), Vindicianus magister. They had the tower and fort made from the ground up.’

Although it is not cut very competently (the initial ‘t’ of *turrem* is written as i), the words *turrem* and *castrum* are clearly present. The last abbreviations, ‘they built it from the ground’ are jumbled and unclear, but they represent standard terms in formal use. As individuals Justinianus and Vindicianus cannot be identified with any certainty with figures known in Late Roman Imperial history.²⁴ The chief interest of the inscription, therefore, lies in the titles mentioned: *praepositus*, probably the commander of a *numerus* of troops (c. 200-300 men); *magister*, perhaps an officer in charge of building. Especially apt is the description of the combined structure as a *turris* and *castrum*.²⁵ Both elements are clearly

²¹ The tallest estimate for the towers is 45 m (Bell, 1998, 315–19, see n. 3). Wilson gives two possible heights (35 m or 18-22 m, see n. 5). The former figure is roughly that of the early estimates in feet (100 ft). Ottaway (1996), 11, and (2000), 183–99, argues for half that height (15-20 m).

²² Ottaway (1996) and (2000) (as above).

²³ Sandstone block (22 in x 15 in) in the Whitby Museum, R. G. Goodchild, ‘The Ravenscar Inscription’, *Antiqs. J.* 32 (1952); R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (OUP, 1965), no. 721; W. H. Lamplough, in F. C. Rimington, *The History of Ravenscar and Staintondale* (Scarborough 1988), Appendix L, 81–85.

²⁴ A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1983), 353.

²⁵ The Latin terms for the structures have been allowed to fade into disuse, because of the prevalence of the view since the 1930s that they were signal stations in their main purpose.

present in the plan of four of the five structures on the ground and the inscription from Ravenscar proves that they existed there as well.

It is time to turn to the terms used by Ammianus Marcellinus in his account of the reconstruction work done by Count Theodosius in Britain on behalf of his emperor, Valentinian I, in the late 360s, and by the emperor himself roughly at the same time on the Rhine. Theodosius set about 'seeing to the frontiers with guard-and out-posts' (*limites vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis*, *Res Gestae* 28.3.7). At almost the same time, along the Rhine (AD 369) the historian describes the emperor as 'raising forts, fortlets and towers to a greater height' (*castra extollens altius et castella turresque*, *Res Gestae* 28.2.1) – this in response to incursions by the Alamanni. In his obituary of Valentinian (died AD 375) Ammianus summarises the military activity of the preceding years, 'he fortified the Rhine with loftier forts and fortlets' (*Rhenum celsioribus castris munivit et castellis*, *Res Gestae* 30.7.6). The emphasis on the increased height of the fortifications recalls the new element of a central tower inside the fortlets. And indeed those of Valentinian along the Rhine do bear a striking resemblance to these on the Yorkshire coast, as has been noted particularly with regard to the plans of fortlets at Asperden and Moersasberg.²⁶ Interestingly Ammianus says of the Rhine series 'their purpose was to prevent the enemy from outflanking our positions at any point in some swiftly executed fashion' (*ne latere usquam hostis ad nostra se proripiens possit*, *Res Gestae* 30.7.6.). Translated into the British context this would mean to give warning of surprise raids (probably by Picts rather than Angli/Saxones from across the North Sea), which might outflank Hadrian's Wall and the mouth of the R. Tyne.

These measures in Britain, and the near contemporary and larger-scale ones on the Continent, suggest that the traditional date for the Yorkshire fortlets (AD 368/9) is likely to be correct rather than the later one, when Magnus Maximus was a general in Britain (c. AD 380-3).²⁷ Pottery and coins found in the towers and in the fortlet-areas might allow either date of construction, but a recent study of the coins from four out of five of the sites, and from the undefined Roman site at Whitby, suggests the earlier date because of the high profile of issues dating between AD 365 and 375.²⁸ This certainly chimes with what we hear of a general building-programme of frontier works precisely to this plan and at this time on the Rhine and Upper Danube.

Turning to the contemporary names used for the forts, fortlets and towers, as seen in the pages of the historian and in the Ravenscar inscription (*castella*, *vigiliae/vigilia*, *praetenturae*, *castra*, *turres*) we may note yet another term vulgarly applied to them, *burgus*, a word related to the Greek *pyrgos*, 'tower'. According to Vegetius

²⁶ J. E. Bogaers and C. B. Rüger, *Der Niedergermanische Limes, Kunst und Altertum am Rhein* 50 (1974); Johnson (1983), 140–46, 270–72 (see n. 4); Ottaway (2000), 188 (see n. 3).

²⁷ Welsby (1982, 116–17) thought that the fact that the late fourth-century pottery from 'the signal stations' was later than that from Halton Chesters 'perhaps helps to support the hypothesis' (the Magnus Maximus date, JH). But the reoccupation of Halton might have occurred earlier, (e.g. in AD 360), or the Yorkshire fortlets might have used the latest pottery-types from the nearby pottery kilns.

²⁸ D. Shotter (1999), 67, table 2 (see n. 14). The earliest study, a less complete one, necessarily, already suggested this, H. H. E. Craster, 'The coin-evidence from the signal-stations', in M. R. Hull, 'The pottery from the Roman signal-stations on the Yorkshire coast', *Archaeol. J.* 89 (1932), 220–53. Brickstock inclined to the later date, though the evidence from the coins cannot be said to be conclusive, R. J. Brickstock in Ottaway (2000), 131–40 (see n. 4).

this was 'a small fortlet' (*castellum parvulum*, *De Re Mil.* 4.10). Isidore of Seville mentions 'frequent settlements along the frontiers, commonly called *burgi* (*crebra per limites habitacula, constituta burgos vulgo vocant*, *Origines* 9.2.99; 20, 28). *Burgi* also receive mention in the poems of Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carm.* 22. 101); one of his friends had a defended hill-top residence. They appear also in the law-codes of Theodosius (12.19.2), and of Justinian (1.27.2.4). It seems likely that it was the presence of high towers that led to such fortlets being called *burgi*. If any fortifications in Late Roman Britain merit the term it is this series on the Yorkshire coast; indeed their much more numerous analogues along the Rhine and Danube are in fact labelled *burgi*.²⁹ It is clear that the description commonly given to those on the Yorkshire coast, 'signal stations', is inadequate, since it implies too small a structure and complement of troops, and covers only one of their functions. They were in fact towers, watch-posts and fortlets, but also, in common parlance, *burgi*.

The third question, after those of date and terminology, remains. What was the purpose of the fortlets, strategically as well as their tactical use, and, further to that, what was the urgency that led to the construction of an entirely new series of coastal watch-tower/fortlets as a single programme? In general the nature and source of the threat is clear; sea-raids from the North by Picts were occurring at a serious level and, as Ammianus and later writers show, these occurred from at least AD 360 (*Res Gestae* 20.1.1), but again, and most seriously in 367/8 (27.8.4), then in 381/2 (Chron. 452) and in 398/9 (Claudian, *de cons. Stilichonis* 2. 250-5; in *Eutropium* 1. 391-3). The collapse of law and order in the provinces of Britain and the dispersal of the resident army in chaos in AD 367/8 are aspects of the disaster all too clear from Ammianus' narrative. The Count of the Saxon Shore, Nectaridus, was killed, and the Duke in the North, Fullofaudes, was 'cut off' (*circumventum*) and possibly captured. It was comparable, so the historian says, to the other major disasters suffered elsewhere on Rome's frontiers after the accession of the brother-emperors, Valentinian and Valens, in AD 365 (*Res Gestae* 26.4.3).

When viewed within the context of Late Roman Britain these Yorkshire fortlets also give the impression of being a miniature version, a 'Pictish Shore' even, of the larger defensive system on the east and south-east coasts.³⁰ By the late fourth century this southern system had become known as the 'Saxon Shore', though from the late third century it had seemingly been operative against miscellaneous raiders (Franks being most prominent, perhaps with some Saxon participation). On this, more northerly, east coast of Yorkshire the threat seems to have been from the Picts north of Hadrian's Wall at least for so long as Roman defence and administration held, though the Angli from across the North

²⁹ It has been suggested that some small fortified settlements along Watling St. might be classed as *burgi*, G. Webster, 'A Roman system of fortified posts along Watling St.', in S. Applebaum (ed.), *Roman Frontier Studies* (Tel Aviv, 1967), 49-58. Against this see now J. Gould, 'The Watling St. Burgi', *Britannia* 30 (1999), 183-97. For an equation of *burgi* and *turres* on the Rhine/Upper Danube, see H. Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* (London, 1996), 60; 87. Here the erection of a watchtower at Gran on the Danube in AD 371 is noted.

³⁰ The location of these fortlets suggests that they were sited to give warning of raids coming down the east coast (i.e. the Picts), L. Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (London, 1971), 96; Mason (2003), 180-82 (see n. 4), Pearson thinks that the fortlets probably succumbed to Pictish raids rather than to Angli from across the North Sea (2002, 135, see n. 5). For the description of this coast informally as a Pictish Shore, J. C. Mann, *Britannia and the Roman Empire* (Aldershot, 1996), 244.

Sea may well have arrived in the first half of the fifth century and may have been the force which put a stop to Pictish raids.³¹

What was to be protected by these last Roman frontier measures has been taken as almost indisputable – the area of North and East Yorkshire behind the coast with its rich farming country and the scattering of villas in the Wolds and around Pickering. Rarely is York mentioned in the discussion of this early warning system. But it is very likely that the real spur to the building of the towers and fortlets was the need to convey advance information to the Roman command-centre at York about any raid in force, which might surprise them and lead to them being isolated from the army, or even captured. If this happened to the Duke of the *Britanniae* or his head-quarters staff, or the governor, or if the communications system around York was broken, then at least a temporary meltdown of security and administration might again take place with widespread desertions from the army.

This state of affairs was not unique to Britain in the early years of Valentinian I, as Ammianus states. On the upper Rhine in AD 366 the Alamanni had killed two Roman generals (counts) in succession (*Res Gestae* 27.1.1-6). A few years later on the upper Danube, in AD 374, the daughter of the former emperor, Constantius II, was almost captured, while travelling, by raiding Sarmatians and German Quadi. The regional capital, Sirmium, was also nearly lost, because of its poor state of defence (*Res Gestae* 29.6.6). In both areas an extensive series of forts, fortlets and towers (*burgi*) was built along the threatened frontiers.³² It is fair to infer that the effort expended on the Yorkshire-coast structures was occasioned by the disaster experienced by the top military and administrative officials based at York, which then paralysed resistance in the province in AD 367/8. It was only after two false starts by other senior generals that Count Theodosius was able to restore matters, bringing a fresh field army from the Continent (*Res Gestae* 27.8.2-10). A crisis like that would certainly call for new coastal defences, where none had been before. More local, tactical, functions for the fortlets might also be deduced from their siting and groundplan, and these might include signalling from the towers, housing a small detachment of frontier troops and holding storage-grain and refugee-locals within the fortlet walls.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the anonymous referees of *YAJ* for several items of recent bibliography, and for comments leading to some changes of emphasis in this paper. I wish to thank Pete Wilson for kindly offering a map from his article (n. 5) by way of illustration to this one.

³¹ At some stage in the first half of the fifth century the Angli came to this coast, to stay, D. Powlesland, 'The early-middle Anglo-Saxon period c. AD 450–850' in R. M. Butlin (ed), *Historical Atlas of N. Yorkshire* (Otley, 2003), 62–67.

³² S. Johnson (1983, appendix 2, 270–79) where 232 such sites are listed (see n. 4).

THE WHITBY MERELS BOARD

By M. A. Hall

This paper is a fresh examination of the fragmentary graffito-on-stone gaming board recovered during the 1920s excavations at Whitby Abbey by Peers and Radford. A clear identification of the game of merels or nine men's morris is made, along with the possibilities for its dating and its broader context within medieval gaming culture.

Amongst the poorly provenanced finds from excavations at Whitby Abbey¹ is a piece readily identifiable as a graffiti merels or nine men's morris board.² It survives on a fragment of limestone masonry. It is only a half-board as the masonry block has been broken, through the middle of the board. The board is cut as an incised design with the game's characteristic three concentric rectangles (or rather half of them), clearly visible along with the equally typical horizontal line that crosses through the mid-parts of the short sides. The inner and outer rectangles and the connecting horizontal are much more deeply cut than the middle rectangle. The block measures 215mm x 230mm x 110mm. This is not the place to rehearse the lack of modern recording of the 1920s excavations (but see the titles listed in note 1 for a full discussion of the problems). Suffice it to say that the context of the Abbey itself does not really clarify matters as to the dating and use-history of the stone because the stone has no precisely defined context and could theoretically come from the Anglo-Saxon monastery or the later medieval refoundation. The 1920s excavations took place within the cemetery of the abbey founded in the late twelfth century, a refoundation that probably involved the clearing and levelling of the Anglo-Saxon remains. In the 1943 excavation report by Peers and Radford a stone, catalogued as number 24, is described: 'Flat slab. Linear incised decoration on one face. Reverse plain. Purpose uncertain.' The vagueness of this description should be taken with caution but it could fit the stone in question. Number 25 in the same catalogue is described as 'Similar slab. More elaborate decoration', raising the possibility of another board.³

The game of merels or morris (or mill) has a number of variations, most

¹ For the details of the various excavations conducted in the late 19th and mid 20th centuries see: A. White, 'Finds from the Anglian Monastery at Whitby', *YAJ* 56 (1964), pp. 33–40; C. A. R. Radford, 'A medieval leaden cross from Whitby', *Antiquaries Journal* 20 (1940), pp. 508–9; C. Peers, and C. A. R. Radford, 'The Saxon Monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia* 89 (1943), pp. 27–88; P. A. Rahtz, 'Whitby 1958', *YAJ* 40 (1962), 604–18; P. A. Rahtz, 'Whitby 1958, Site Two', *YAJ* 42 (1970), 72–3; P. A. Rahtz, 'The building plan of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery of Whitby Abbey', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. Wilson (London, 1976), pp. 459–62; R. J. Cramp 'Analysis of the finds register and location plan of Whitby Abbey', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 453–7; R. Cramp 'A Reconsideration of the Monastic Site of Whitby' in *The Age of Migrating Ideas*, eds. M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (Edinburgh 1993), pp. 64–73; and M. Johnson, 'The Saxon Monastery at Whitby: past, present and future', in *In Search of Cult – Archaeological investigations in honour of Philip Rahtz*, ed. M. Carver (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 85–9.

² I am indebted to Prof. Rosemary Cramp and Andrew Morrison (English Heritage) for initial discussions and details about the board. Some years ago now Martin Allfrey kindly showed me the board in English Heritage's Helmsley Store, where it is presently located with the number 91430738. Thanks to Martin and Kevin Booth for kindly arranging the illustration. Any remaining errors in the present text are my own.

³ Peers and Radford, *Archaeologia* 89, p. 40.

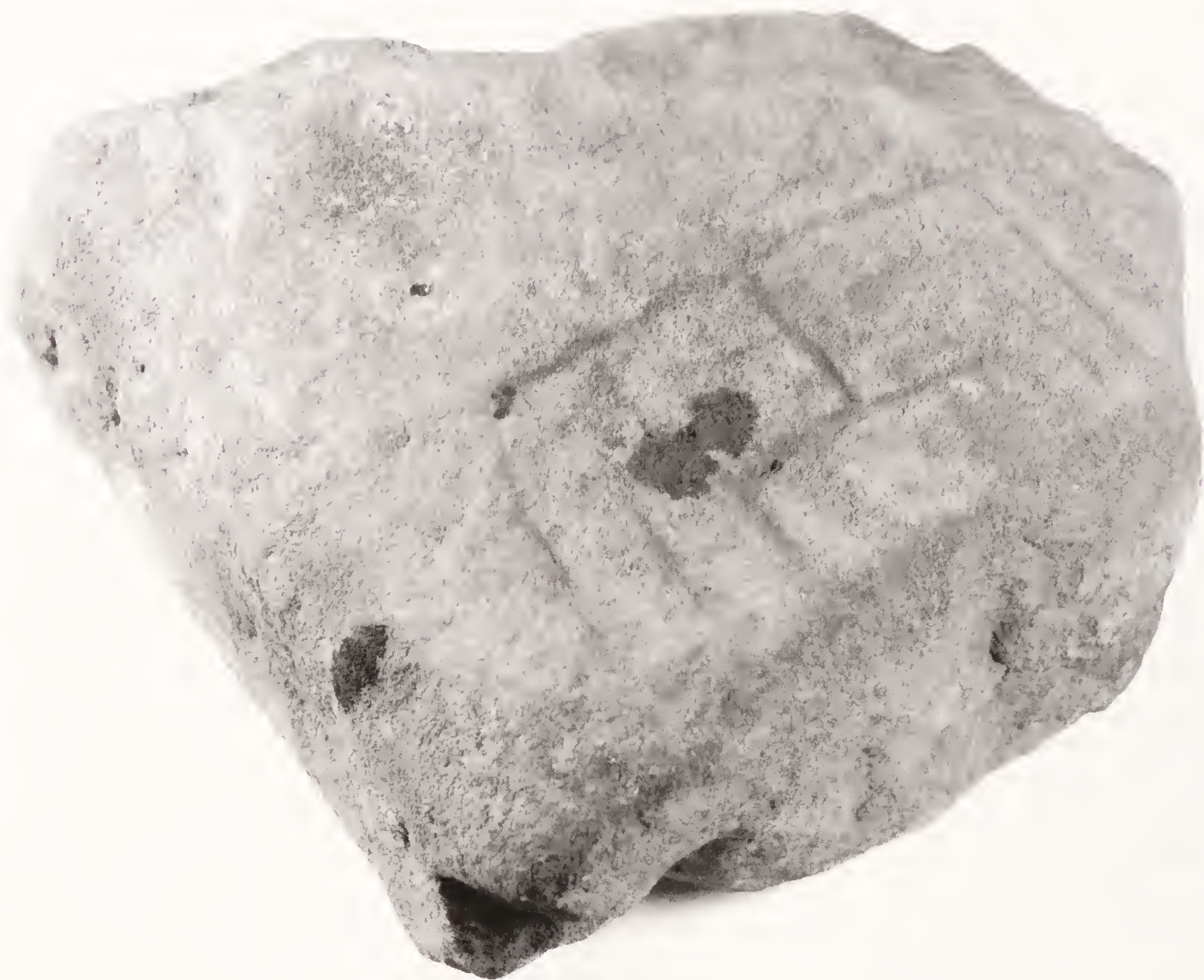


Fig. 1. The Whitby merels board (Copyright English Heritage).

commonly using nine, six or three playing pieces per two opposing players, on an appropriate board of three, two or one rectangles (often termed 'squares') respectively, each with connecting lines.⁴ Players alternately place one of their pieces on to the board until all are positioned. Each player then tries to make a line (or 'mill') of three pieces; each time a 'mill' is made an opponent's piece can be removed from the board. The game is lost when a player has less than the three pieces needed to make a 'mill'.

In terms of surviving archaeological evidence the boards most often survive as graffiti-incised designs on stone. The evidence has been reviewed several times⁵ but in recent years the evidence base and the contextual information derived from it has increased significantly.⁶ Though incised on different types of stone these boards exhibit common features: a shared use of raw material, incised designs of an ephemeral nature and a variety of stages of completion. Some are so incomplete

⁴ H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board Games other than Chess*, (Oxford, 1952); D. Parlett, *The Oxford History of Board Games*, (Oxford, 1999).

⁵ See particularly J. T. Micklethwaite, 'On the indoor games of schoolboys in the Middle Ages', *Archaeological Journal* 49 (1892), 319–28; W. N. Robertson, 'The game of merelles in Scotland', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 98 (1967), pp. 321–3; and A. G. Shireff, 'The Sparsholt nine men's morris', *Berkshire Archaeological Journal* 53 (1953), pp. 110–15.

⁶ M. A. Hall, 'A probable gaming board from Ormiston, Newburgh, Fife', in *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 4 (1998), pp. 145–9.

that they pose difficulties of identification and use-analysis.⁷ Boards do survive in other media, notably wood.⁸

The game was played by Romans and Vikings⁹ but the known British examples date from the later medieval period, with no boards dating with any certainty earlier than the eleventh/twelfth century. I know of no examples of such boards from Viking Britain. Ritchie cites two examples from the Norse levels at Jarlshof



Fig. 2. The Whitby merels board (Copyright English Heritage).

⁷ For example, Ormiston, Fife – Hall (1998) in note 6 – and St Michaels, Cumbria – see M. A. Hall, 'On the possible merels board incised on the Pre-Conquest Cross-base at Addingham St Michaels, Cumbria', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 1 (new series, 2001), pp. 44–51.

⁸ See in particular R. A. Croft, *Graffiti Gaming Boards*, Finds Research Group Datasheet, (Taunton, 1987); C. Morris, *Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Woodworking Crafts – the Manufacture and Use of Domestic and Utilitarian Wooden Artefacts in the British Isles 400–1500 AD*, unpublished PhD thesis, (University of Cambridge, 1984); and C. Morris and D. M. Evans, 'The Wood', in *Excavations at 33–35 Eastgate Beverley 1983–6*, D. H. Evans and D. G. Tomlinson (Sheffield, 1992), pp. 189–209.

⁹ For Roman examples see R. G. Austin 'Roman Board Games', *Greece and Rome* 4 (1935), pp. 24–34, 76–82 and C. and C. Holliger, 'Römische Spielsteine und Brettspiele', in *Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa 1983* (1984), pp. 5–24; for Viking examples see Murray *Board Games*, fig. 22 (one side of a board from the Gokstad ship).

and Underhoull, Shetland,¹⁰ but these are in fact both for the game *hnefatafl*. It was certainly a game known to the Vikings – they introduced it to the Faroes for example (there is a tenth-century board from Toftanes¹¹). The examples from Cronk yn How and Block Eary, Isle of Man¹² are often cited as Norse examples but the excavator Marshall Cubbon has always been cautious about this. He has pointed out that there was no secure stratigraphy for either and that both sites had extended occupation down to at least the twelfth century.¹³ The accepted convention is that the game was a Norman introduction to mainland Britain. The chronological importance of the question of Viking or Norman introduction is clear but equally we should remember that the Normans were, of course descended from Viking (or Northmen) colonisers. The Normans played the game because their Viking forebears did. The evidence for the game in pre eleventh-century Normandy/Brittany is however familiarly opaque. I know of no boards for merels. There is gaming evidence, mostly in the form of dice and playing pieces (e.g. from the tenth-century ship burial from the Ile de Croix¹⁴) though the latter are generally of the type associated with the game *hnefatafl*.¹⁵ The early history of merels is equally opaque in the context of another focus of the Viking Diaspora, Ireland. Here a recent attempt to equate the game with that of *fidchell*, a game mentioned in several early Irish tales, proved inconclusive at best.¹⁶

By the later medieval period various satires suggest merels was the game of the peasantry and urban poor, in contrast with backgammon, as the game of the urban rich and chess as the game of the aristocratic and church elites. This was not an absolute hierarchy; archaeological evidence (including a number of lead badges and toys depicting chess boards from the Netherlands¹⁷) indicates that chess was popular at all levels of society. Historical evidence records chess as a favourite pursuit of one Hugh le Barber, one time servant of St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford. When reporting to St Thomas's canonization inquiry in 1307, Hugh told of his being afflicted with blindness and how he prayed to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to St Thomas for a cure, asking that it be sufficient to allow him to 'see the elevation of the Host, to go about, and to play at chess and dice.'¹⁸ However the satire

¹⁰ A. Ritchie, 'The Picto-Scottish Interface in Material Culture', in A. Small, A (ed.) *The Picts, A New Look at Old Problems*, ed. A. Small (Dundee, 1987), pp. 59–67, examples cited at p. 67.

¹¹ S. S. Hansen, 'The Norse Landnam in the Faroe Islands in the light of recent excavations at Toftanes, Leirvík', *Northern Studies* 25 (1988), pp. 58–64, esp. fig. 11b.

¹² A. M. Cubbon, 'The Game of Merels or Mill in the Isle of Man' *Journal of the Manx Museum* 6 (1959–60), pp. 66–70.

¹³ Cubbon reiterated this in his most recent discussion of the Manx evidence, A. M. Cubbon, 'The Merels Boards', in *Excavations on St Patrick's Isle, Peel, Isle of Man 1982–88, Prehistoric, Viking, Medieval and Later*, ed. D. Freke (Liverpool, 2002), pp. 276–81.

¹⁴ N. S. Price, *The Vikings in Brittany*, (= Viking Society for Northern Research and *Saga Book* XII, 6) (London, 1989), fig. 30 and p. 97/415.

¹⁵ For a recent review of *hnefatafl* see M. A. Hall, 'A double-sided *hnefatafl* board from Cathedral Hill, Downpatrick: Time consumed in an early monastic enclosure', in *Lecale Miscellany* 19 (2001), pp. 31–36 and also G Breen, 'Board games from Medieval Cork in Context', in *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 108 (2003), pp. 41–50. Breen's suggestion that *fidchell* equates to nine men's morris seems to disregard the fact that what little is known of *fidchell*, in particular the mode of capture, is not compatible with merels; see E. Mac White, 'Early Irish Board Games', in *EIGSE* 5 (1945–47), pp. 24–35.

¹⁶ Breen, *J Cork Hist. Archaeol. Soc.* 108.

¹⁷ For manuscript examples of the satire and the lead badges see M. A. Hall 'Gaming Board Badges', in *Heiligen Profaan 2 – 1200 Laatmiddeleuse Insignes uit openbare en particuliere collecties*, eds. H. J. E. van Beuningen, A. M. Koldewij, and D. Kicken (Rotterdam Papers 12, Cothen, 2001), pp. 173–78.

¹⁸ For the testimony of Hugh see M. Jancey, 'Appendix, A Servant Speaks of His Master: Hugh le Barber's Evidence of 1307', in *St Thomas Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford, Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey, (Hereford, 1982), pp. 191–200.

clearly had a degree of resonance and there is a strong temptation to see such graffiti boards as evidence for the widespread playing of the game in an opportunistic manner amongst the less powerful and less wealthy in medieval society.

Where does Whitby fit into this picture? The possibilities are an Anglo-Saxon graffito on an Anglo-Saxon piece of masonry, a later medieval graffito on a reused piece of Anglo-Saxon masonry or a later medieval graffito on a later medieval piece of masonry. The lack of clear provenance and the hitherto unattested presence of such boards in Anglo-Saxon England would seem to rule out the first option. The general character of the piece would seem to argue for the latter and the likelihood is that it is carved by a mason/workman in an expedient, short-term use of leisure-time. However later medieval reuse of Anglo-Saxon masonry cannot be ruled out in this case for Peers and Radford noted clear examples of this practice in their work at Whitby.¹⁹

Significantly the Whitby board also adds to the distribution of such boards in monastic establishments. In northern Britain there are a number of other boards from such sites: Lindesfarne Priory, Northumberland (Benedictine), Jedburgh Abbey, Borders (Augustinian), Whithorn Priory, Dumfries and Galloway and Dryburgh Abbey, Borders (both Premonstratensian), Furness Abbey, Cumbria (Cistercian) and Arbroath Abbey, Angus (Tironensian). The Whithorn board was found in a rubble bank, with a late twelfth-century deposition date.²⁰ The board from Jedburgh²¹ was found in several pieces. The boards from Dryburgh²² and Furness²³ were both found on masonry still in situ, but exposed only with Reformation or later destruction. That some of the boards are related to Reformation or post-Reformation episodes (e.g. quarrying existing masonry) cannot be ruled out. The picture painted by the contexts of the other boards is not dissimilar. We know from other evidence that monks knew and played this and other games. There are graffiti boards in many cathedral cloisters and playing pieces from several monasteries (e.g. the chess pieces from Rievaulx Abbey, North Yorkshire and Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds,²⁴ again “Northern Monasteries”). But the nature of the boards listed here suggests that we are dealing with the ephemeral activity of stone masons (compare the Wharram Percy board, similarly attributed to the masons of Wharram Percy church²⁵). A number of those boards not associated with ecclesiastical contexts are similarly to be associated with ephemeral leisure-time pursuits. The Isle of Man boards from the shielings at Cronk yn How and Block Eary as well as the probable board from Ormiston, Fife, could readily be the work of medieval shepherds or stockmen.

¹⁹ Peers and Radford *Archaeologia* 89, p. 37 number 15 and n. 2, detailing two examples of such later medieval reuse of Saxon masonry; the addition of an inscription in one case and the cutting of moulds for buttons and small objects in the other.

²⁰ A. Nicholson, ‘The stone artefacts’, in *Whithorn and St Ninian: the Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984–91*, P. Hill (Stroud, 1997), pp. 447–64, esp. p. 449.

²¹ D. Gallagher, D 1996 ‘Stone sculpture’, in *Jedburgh Abbey, the archaeology and architecture of a Border Abbey*, J. Lewis and G. Ewart (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 105–10, esp. 108–9.

²² J. Richardson and M. Wood, *Dryburgh Abbey*, illus. p.5, revised by D. Grove, and C. Tabraham, (Edinburgh, 1996).

²³ P. V. Kelly, ‘A Bridge of Monastic Date and other finds at Furness Abbey’, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* XXVI (1926), pp. 262–9, esp. pp. 267–9.

²⁴ For Rievaulx Abbey see G. C. Dunning, ‘Heraldic and decorated metalwork and other finds from Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire’, *Antiquaries Journal* 45 (1965), 37–63; for Kirkstall Abbey see A. Way, ‘Notice of a singular sculptured object, probably a chess piece found at Kirkstall Abbey’, *Archaeological Journal* 6 (1849), 170–2.

²⁵ M. Atkin and K. Tompkins, *Revealing Lost Villages: Wharram Percy*, (2nd edition, London, 1988), p. 26.

EXCAVATION OF THE GREAT HALL OR 'KYNGETHALLE' AT SCARBOROUGH CASTLE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Colin Hayfield and the late Tony Pacitto
with contributions by G Coppack and J Weinstock

The three seasons of excavations carried out by the late Tony Pacitto on the medieval hall within the Castle Garth at Scarborough Castle were designed to investigate and record the surviving archaeological evidence that remained after Colonel Peck's excavations of 1888. The hall is shown to have been rebuilt on at least one occasion, and it is suggested that the original hall was probably constructed as part of the building works of Henry II, somewhat earlier than hitherto suspected.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

Scarborough Castle (Fig. 1) is one of the most impressively situated of any English Castle; its location, high on a coastal promontory, dominates the local landscape (Schofield 1787; Hinderwell 1798; Ackermann 1813). Castle Hill occupies a natural, plateau-like promontory of about 7.69 ha. It is an outcrop of limestone grit about 92 m above sea level, with steep cliffs forming a natural defence along its north and east sides. On the south side a natural fault has produced a steep-sided ravine, known as Castle Dykes. To the west is a narrow tongue of land that links Castle Hill to the mainland. As a consequence Castle Hill offers a naturally defensible site.

The defensive capabilities of this site may first have been recognised back in prehistoric times (Rutter 1953; 1959) and it was later used, during the Romano-British period, as a 'Signal Station' (Collingwood 1931). During the Saxon period it is possible that the site became a monastery. The present fortification dates date back to the twelfth century, with most of the castle's medieval defences surviving until their slighting during the Civil War (Clark 1884). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw limited re-fortification with the construction of a number of artillery batteries. It remained a military site until the end of the nineteenth century. During the 1914-18 war Scarborough Castle, along with the town itself, suffered a heavy naval bombardment. The site is now in the care of English Heritage (Department of Environment 1960; Port 1989).

Academically, however, Scarborough Castle remains relatively neglected. With the exception of the signal station site, excavation has been limited, and detailed studies of both the standing masonry and the historical sources remain to be undertaken. This situation has recently been, at least partially, rectified through preparation of a Conservation Plan (Grenville *et al.*, 1999).

The substantial size of Castle Hill meant that the main defensive features had to be

located at the mouth of the connecting ridge of land linking it to the town below, although a curtain wall was thrown-up along the scarp of Castle Dykes as a further precaution against any land-based assault. The principal fortifications of the castle consisted of a series of three wards beginning with the barbican, and culminating in a box-like area that later contained the Master Gunner's House, that in turn gave access into both the inner bailey and its keep, and then across an artificial ditch into the remainder of the promontory. This promontory is known as Castle Garth, and during the medieval period, it was used for jousting and other festivities, although it may also have provided areas for livestock grazing and cultivation.

Castle Garth (Fig. 1) now contains a range of shallow earthworks and the stone foundations of two building ranges; the hall site and its associated kitchen, and also a great chamber built alongside the curtain wall, later to be re-built as Mosdale Hall. The foundations of the hall site were first uncovered during excavations at the end of the nineteenth century and it has subsequently, with some confidence, been identified as the 'Kyngeshalle' mentioned in a number of thirteenth and fourteenth-century documents. The recent Conservation Plan (*ibid.*) attributes this hall building, along with that of Mosdale Hall, to the recorded works of King John in the early thirteenth century.

Three of the late Tony Pacitto's five seasons of excavations at Scarborough Castle were devoted to this Kyngeshalle and its kitchen, and were intended to provide an archaeological investigation in advance of a consolidation programme. The surviving medieval archaeology here had been extensively disturbed by Colonel Peck's excavations in 1888. The loss of elements of the site record and some of the finds in the intervening years since Pacitto's excavations concluded in 1980 has further constrained interpretation of the surviving archaeological record.

COLONEL PECK'S EXCAVATIONS OF 1888

During January 1888, while an area within the Castle Garth was being levelled for use as a parade ground, the remains of substantial buildings were uncovered near the eastern ditch of the inner bailey. The Scarborough Evening News of the 10 January 1888 reported these discoveries:

'During the progress of this work some very interesting finds have been made by the labourers. When work was first commenced carved stones, etc., were turned up, but during the past few days large portions of what appears to have been the foundation of a large building have been uncovered. These foundations stretch across the top portion of the yard - so far as they have been uncovered - to a length of over 50 yards by about 25 yards. They are of massive character, and stand about three and a half feet out of the ground, while they are 3 or 4 feet in width. ... What the building has been cannot yet be decided, but local antiquaries are investigating the matter.'

The clearance work was temporarily halted, and an excavation organised by Colonel Peck, R. E. A report on this work was published in the *Reliquary* by R. C. Hope (1889). The relevant parts of his report, along with his plan of the building, are included here as his description differs in several important aspects from the recent excavations.

'During the early part of the year 1888, whilst certain levelling operations were being carried out on the castle garth at Scarborough by the War Office authorities, the foundations of some old buildings were brought to light, and were most carefully cleared of rubbish under the guidance of Col. Peck, R. E.. The buildings lie lengthways, nearly due north-east by south-west, the dimensions of the main building are 100 ft by 54 ft.

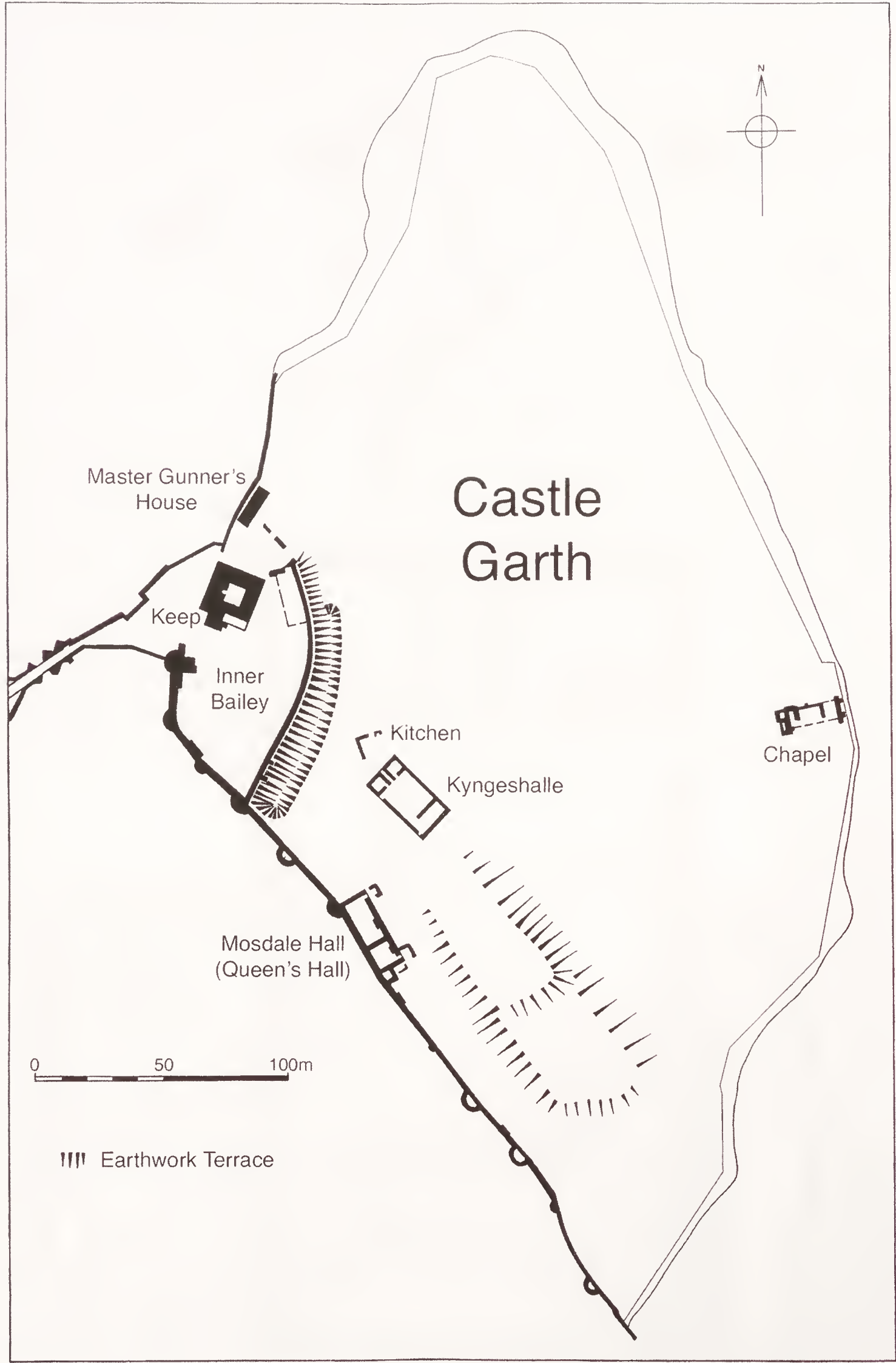


Fig. 1. Castle Garth (adapted from a drawing by Caroline Atkins)

SCARBOROUGH CASTLE
 PLAN OF BUILDINGS UNCOVERED IN THE CASTLE GARTH 1888.

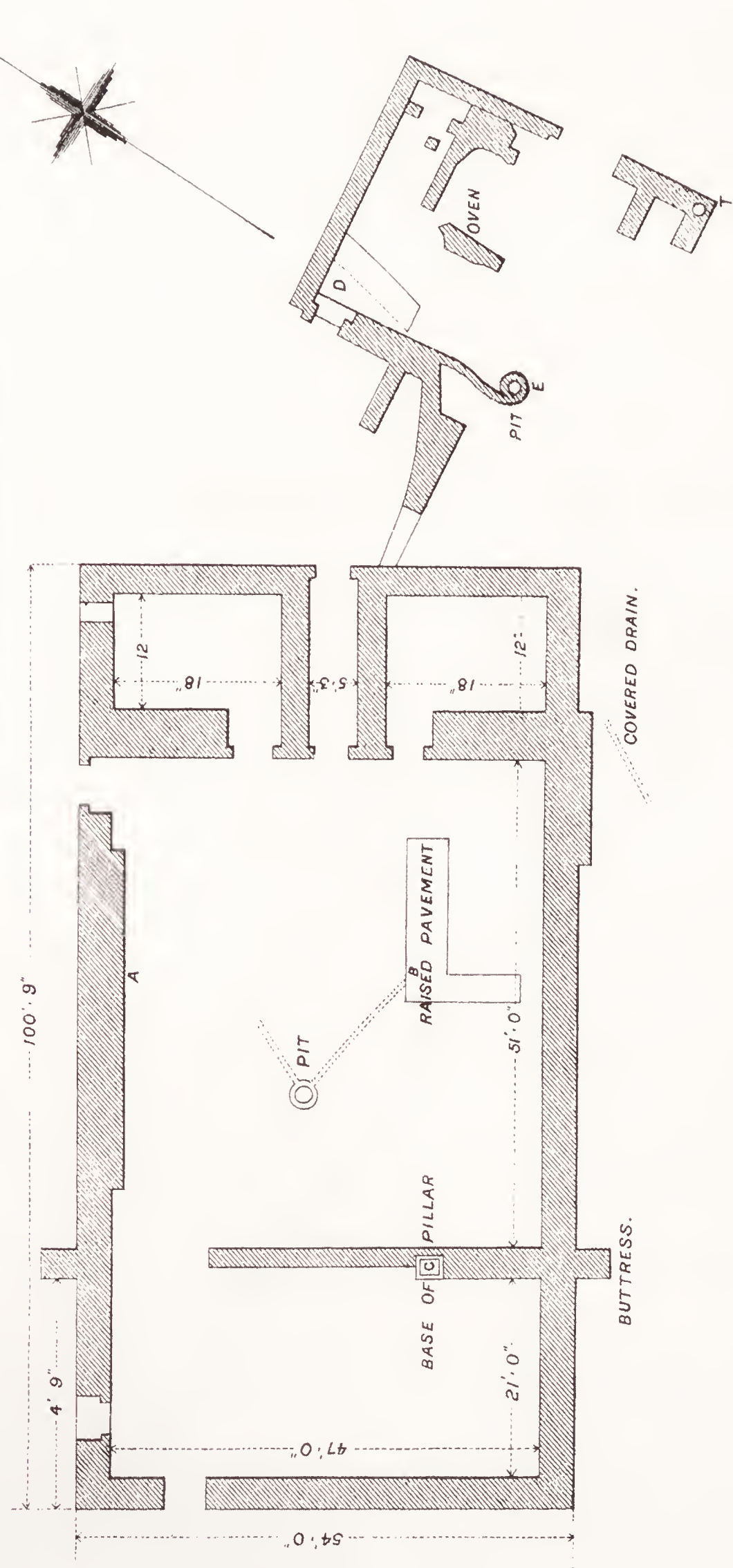


Fig. 2. 1888 Excavation plan (north point uncorrected)

The accompanying plan, kindly supplied by Col. Peck, R. E. (Fig. 2), makes the general arrangement of the buildings as discovered more clear.... It is recorded that the great hall and some other parts of the castle became so ruinous that they fell down *c.* 1350: probably these were included in the fall. The mouldings, a few fragments of which were found, give the date as late Norman, *c.* 1130.... These stones, of which the best specimen is here engraved [Fig. 3], were found at the north-east end of the building, where also were discovered the remains of two or more small arches, perfectly plain, probably belonging to the doorway of the small chambers and passage at the north-east end of the large chamber On the western side of the large chamber is a long low stone seat marked 'A' on the plan' (Fig. 2).

'Immediately opposite this is a very rugged sort of L shaped dais of rough rubble 'B' with slabs of flat stone laid, not very orderly, on the top. From the heel of this dais a drain runs to a small pit or well, about 2 ft., in diameter, very nearly in the centre of the chamber; into this pit or well a drain also leads from the north-west corner. At the western end there is a doorway opening inwards, possibly leading to some other building, or may be into a porch or penthouse. At the north-west side a doorway, 5 feet wide, opens outward, on either side are plain circular mouldings. There is a small chamber at the southern end which is entered from the large chamber by a doorway or opening at the south-west end. The partition wall of these two chambers is nearly double the thickness, for a third of its length from the east, of the remaining portion. At the extreme end of this thicker portion of the partition wall, to the west, is built *into* the wall on some rubble, a stone square 'C' about two and a half feet square and one and a third feet in height; the plinth is quite plain with a plain concave moulding; the top of the stone is perfectly flat. There is no corresponding stone on the opposite side, nor is there anything to show or suggest there ever having been any arch from this stone to the opposite wall...'

'On the outside of the building are two buttresses in a line with the partition wall of the large and small chambers to which they furnish support.'

'At the north-east end of the main building the wall, on the exterior, projects at least a foot for about 12 feet, being the same thickness as, and forming a continuation at right

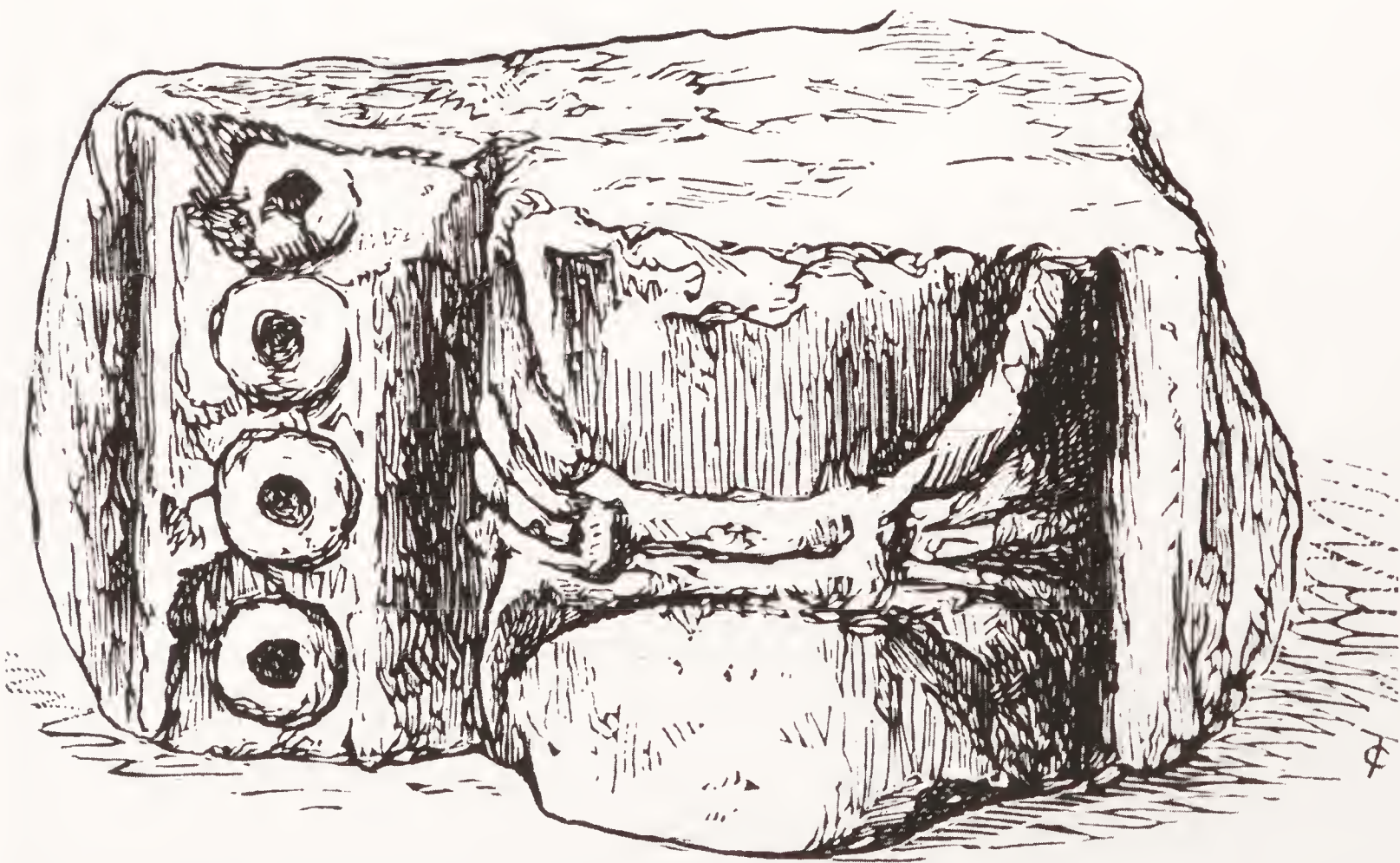


Fig. 3. Architectural fragment recovered in 1888

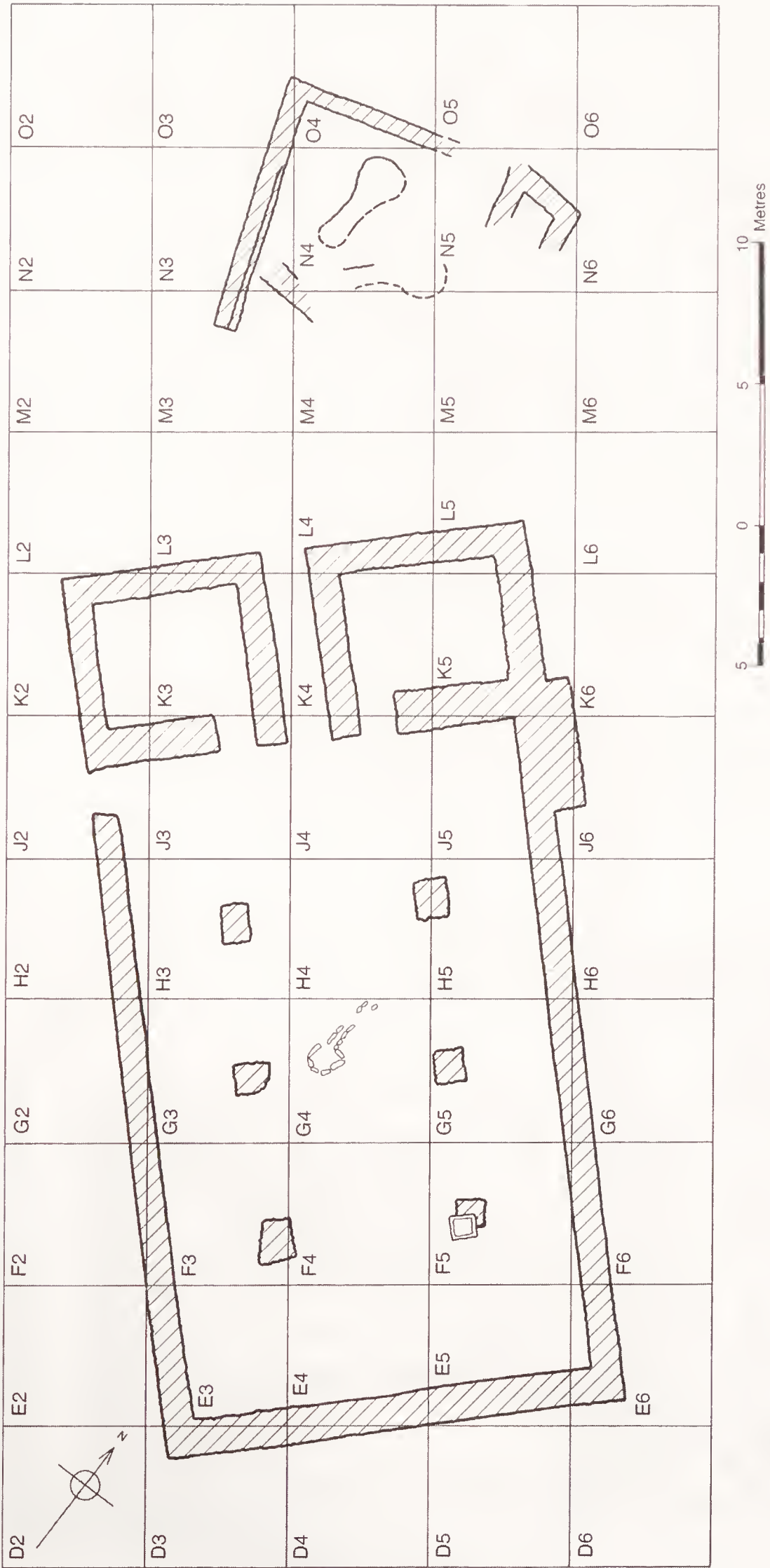


Fig. 4. Plan of Hall Site demonstrating excavation grid

angles with, the partition walls of the small and large chambers...’.

‘It will be noted that the thickened wall is partially behind what remains of the raised platform or dais. There is a closed or built-up doorway, a little over two feet in width, with a plain single moulded column on either side, in the north-east corner of the small chamber on that side of the building. There are remains of doorways, 4 and a half ft. wide, to each chamber, and one, 5 ft. in width, at each end of the passage leading to the kitchen, all opening outwards. The walls of these chambers, and a portion of that on the western side of the large chamber, are now standing, about 4 feet in height; on the south-west and south-east sides there are only from one to two feet remaining...’.

‘Outside, and a little distance in a north-east direction from the main building, at an angle, are the remains of the kitchen and other offices. The circular fire-place with its red bricks, mostly well smoked, is well defined; it is marked ‘oven’ on the plan. Behind the fire-place, in a sort of scullery, are two stones, placed one above the other, the one square, the other pyramidal, in very good preservation and *in situ*. Beyond these stones, to the north, is a very small chamber. Opposite this chamber, on the other side, to the south-west, marked ‘D’ on the plan, is a raised platform, where I conjecture dishes were washed and water poured off, for a drain runs from this to a pit marked ‘E’. Above ‘D’ is a doorway opening outwards, and the remains of steps leading down to the south of this ‘sink’; there appear to have been steps on the outer side leading to this doorway as well as on the inside. At the extreme point of these kitchen buildings, to the north-east, is a small circular hollow in the angle of the wall.’

THE HALL EXCAVATIONS OF 1973–80

INTRODUCTION

When excavation commenced in 1973 two discrete groups of earthworks were visible, one a large rectilinear feature with two small enclosures at its north-west end, and the other a more confused series of humps and ridges between the former structure and the eastern ditch of the outer bailey. Initial clearance of the turf and surface debris revealed masonry standing several courses high in places, although the 1888 excavations had resulted in the unrecorded removal of most stratified levels from the building interiors as well as the dismantling of portions of the walls. Traces of socketed stone blocks for iron railings found along the western side of the hall excavations suggests that the site may have lain open on display for some years.

Three seasons of excavations took place. The first, in 1973, concentrated on the northern part of the hall and the ‘kitchen’ range. The second, in 1975, on the southern part of the hall and the kitchen range, and finally, in 1980, further investigation of the southern part of the hall. The first two seasons saw fairly piecemeal trenches laid out along wall lines and other features within an overall grid system (Fig. 4). The 1980 season, however, saw the whole of the hall site uncovered (Fig. 5). At the time of writing (2005) the 1980 excavation site notebooks remain missing, making it difficult to discuss the excavation of the hall site itself in any great detail. The hall and its kitchen are examined separately both as a matter of convenience and because there were no surviving stratigraphic links between them.

Theoretically excavation consists of the ordered removal of stratified layers of material associated with any structural remains encountered. These excavations on the hall differed in that work involved the cleaning-up of the structures exposed in 1888, and only occasionally were occasional pockets of undisturbed stratigraphy, encountered. Interpretation and phasing are thus heavily dependant on the structural remains themselves from which two main phases for the hall can be identified. The first relates to what appears to be the original



Fig. 5. General view of Hall, looking south (1980)

structure and its occupation, while the second relates to subsequent modifications and associated occupation. Such a basic phasing is not ideal and almost certainly presents a simplistic view of what was a large and important building occupied for almost two hundred years.

As the pottery is a vital factor in the dating and relating of the surviving archaeology, a tabulated summary of estimated vessel numbers is provided at the end of each phase along with any illustrated material. Generic descriptions of the main pottery fabrics can be found below (pp. 68-9).

PRIMARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE HALL (PHASE 1)

The larger building proved to have been an imposing aisled hall, originally of five bays. Its internal dimensions were 23 m by 14.2 m, with bays 5.8 m apart. The aisles were 3.7 m wide. The hall was arranged with its long axis running almost north-west to south-east, but for ease of subsequent description it is treated as if this axis ran north-south. The walls of this hall, mostly surviving two to three courses high, were built of roughly squared and coursed stone with a rubble core. Stretches along the outer face of the walls contained dressed masonry of exceptional quality, particularly along the southern part of the building (Fig. 6). Foundation pads of limestone rubble, averaging 1.37 m square by 1.06 m deep were located in three parallel pairs, forming the east and west aisles. Only one of these rubble foundations still supported a stone stylobate, probably for a wooden arcade post.

Floor levels had been largely removed by the 1888 clearance, but the original ground surface sloped gently to the south. In places there were traces of a general levelling up of the ground within the building in its earliest phases, particularly at the southern end, where the survival was somewhat better. Here a burnt clay surface was encountered, directly between the southern aisle post



Fig. 6. Ashlar masonry on the south-west corner of Hall (1973)

foundations, at the level of the original floor, suggesting that a central, open hearth lay here (Fig. 7 – feature a), and arguing against any Phase One dais to this hall.

The only external door to survive in a recognisable form was in the corner at the north end of the western wall, which was 1.4 m wide. This doorway had been heavily modified in Phase Two, and only a single, plain, upright, and somewhat damaged ashlar of the southern jamb belongs to the Phase One hall.

Phase One Pottery from The Hall

Very little stratified pottery could be safely attributed to the Phase One hall. The two groups below are small, but significant. The Phase One construction material is represented by three early-medieval vessels from the foundation

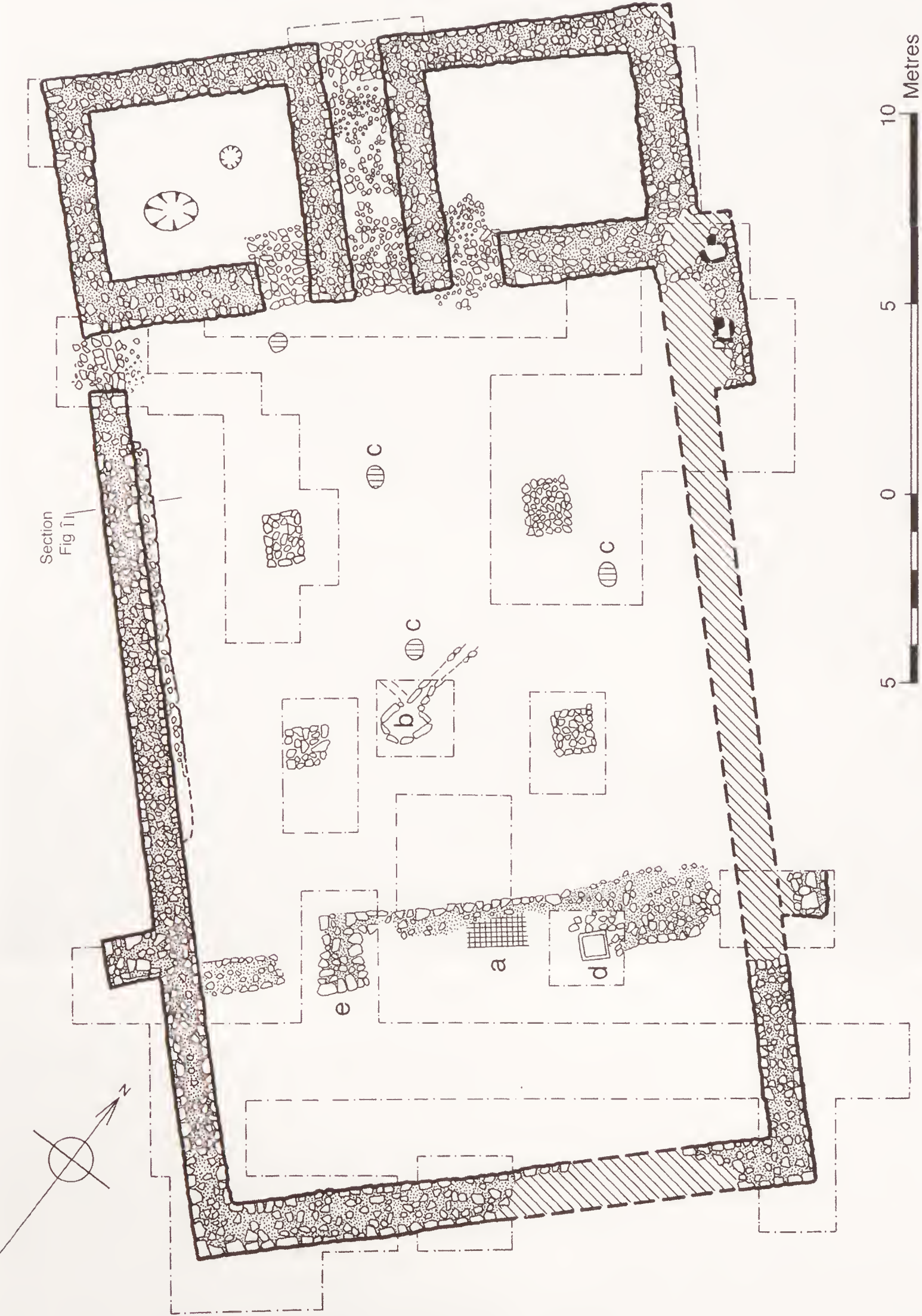


Fig. 7. Overall site plan

deposits of the southern end of the hall. The Early-Medieval Sandy Fabric is a splashed-glazed jug fabric of early to mid twelfth-century date (Fig. 8, no. 1), whilst the Scarborough III fabric is also thought to be of similar date. Although these vessels could be residual to the construction of the hall, their fresh and unabraded state argues against. Similarly, the three Scarborough III vessels from the small occupation deposit from the primary phase of the northern end of the hall would also suggest a twelfth-century date, albeit towards the end of the century.

These tables list the number of identified vessels by form and fabric attributable to each group. Where a letter/numeral code is given at the end of a vessel description, it relates to the grid square or grid squares (Fig. 4) that its sherds were recovered from.

Hall: Vessels from Phase One Construction (Southern End)

Fabric	Jug
Early-Medieval Sandy Ware	2
Scarborough III	1

Phase One Construction (Fig. 8, no. 1)

1 – Scarborough III jug. Pale orange-cream surfaces and pale greyish-blue core. Bright, clear apple-green glaze with bright orange-yellow margins, some pock-marking at margins. [E6]

Hall: Vessels from Phase One Occupation (Northern End)

Fabric	Jug	Cooking-Pot	Aquamanile
Scarborough III	1	1	1

Phase One Occupation (Fig. 8. nos. 2-3)

2 – Scarborough III cooking-pot. Whitish pink surfaces and off-white core. [From Phase One crushed sandstone floor sealed by cobbles of the Phase Two service wing, L3/L4]

3 – Scarborough III aquamanile. Whitish buff core, and pale orange-cream inner surface. Light, bright apple-green glaze. Applied pellets. [Below western doorstep of hall, J2]

SECONDARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE HALL (PHASE 2)

Essentially, Phase Two represents a series of structural modifications to the original hall, few of which are now directly stratigraphically relatable to each other. These modifications are dominated by two major changes to the structure, a rebuild of the northern bay of the hall to form a service wing, and the insertion of a dais to the southernmost bay. It is tempting to also see these changes in conjunction with the construction of the kitchen block to the north of the hall, with the whole relating to a major change of use of the hall. Sadly, however, although the associated pottery does indeed suggest a broadly similar time frame, the lack of any surviving stratigraphic linkage makes this impossible to confirm, and these major changes may just as easily reflect a progression of independent improvements or modernisations to the hall. Consequently each

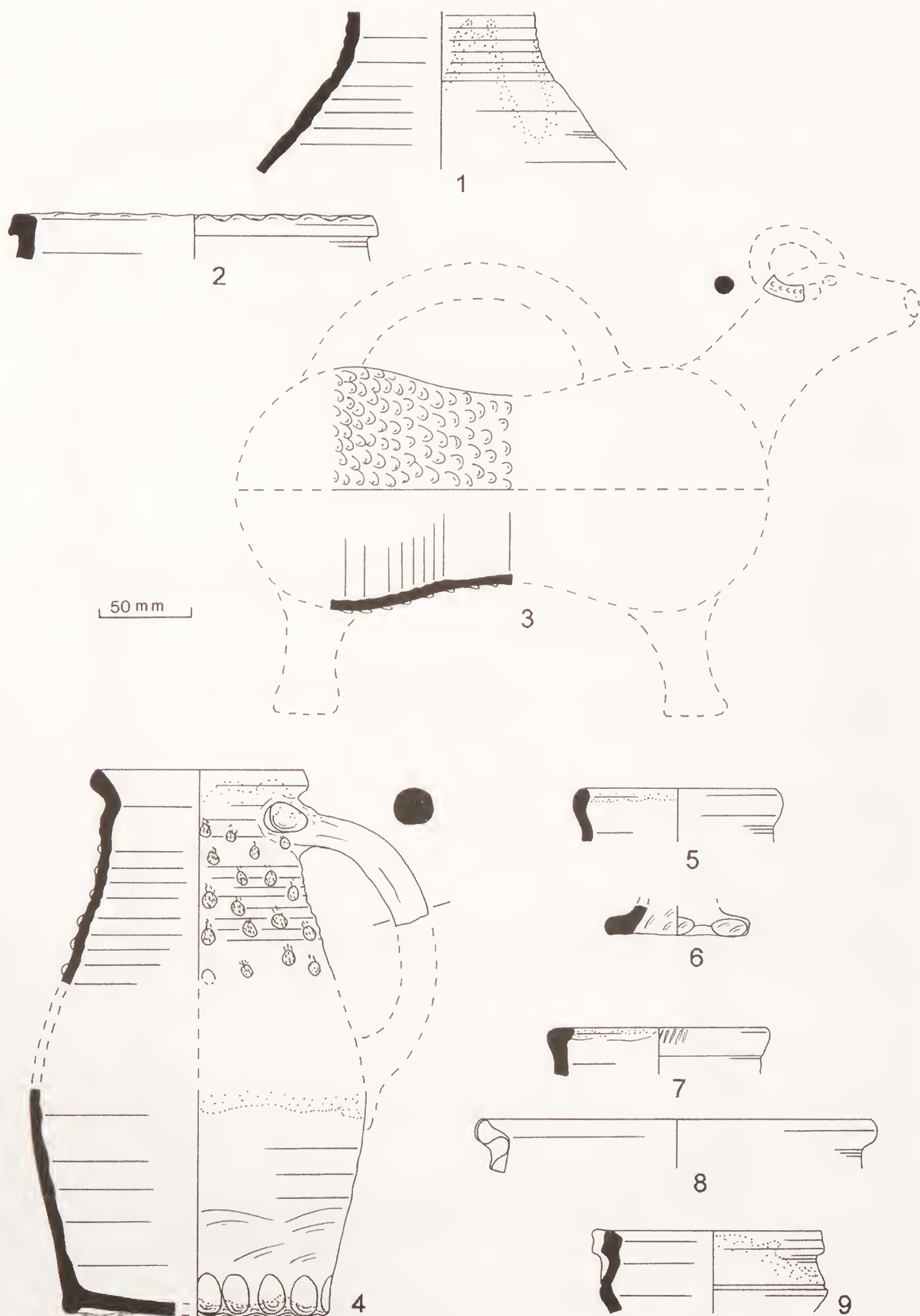


Fig. 8. Phase One and Phase Two 'A' pottery from the Hall

structural modification is described in turn below.

Dais

Phase Two rubble foundations at the southern end of the hall suggest that a raised timber dais was inserted, with two short buttress stubs added to both the east and west walls to provide additional support. As Figure 7 shows, the walls of this dais fell into three sections, each of different character, although all built of limestone rubble bonded with a white mortar (Fig. 9). The central section between the aisle posts was represented by little more than a single course of facing stones on the north side with a band of rubble backing it to the south, giving a width of, at most, 0.6 m. This northern wall face projected out from the line of the aisle posts and also sealed the earlier central hearth.



Fig. 9. Revetting wall of Hall dais, looking east (1980)

The two sections of wall between the aisle posts and the main east and west walls of the hall appeared to be set a little further back than the central portion (Fig. 7). Like the central portion, only one face survived for each of these two sections of wall, but in this case, they lay on the south side, with the rubble core trailing away to the north. The eastern section of wall appeared to be the widest, with the rubble extending some 1.8 m, although the lack of a definable northern face to this wall made it difficult to distinguish original wall core from tumble (Fig. 10). Outside, aligned with this dais wall, two buttresses were added to reinforce the main wall.

The rubble foundations for this dais seem relatively flimsy, despite their width. Although the apparent misalignment of the three component sections and their missing wall faces could have been the result of differential post-demolition robbing, it is also possible that these differences were both deliberate and significant. If the walling were added to support the front of a timber dais whose central part between the arcade posts faced onto the hall, only the northern face of the wall would have been exposed. Similarly, if there were wooden steps provided at either side of the dais, between the arcade posts and the outer walls, then there would only have been a need to face those sections of wall to the south. That would also have left the bottom of these steps flush with the mortared stone face of the central wall portion.

The creation of a raised timber dais at the southern part of the hall would also conveniently explain the surviving stone stylobate in the south-eastern corner of the hall (Fig. 7 – feature d). Perhaps the top of that stone was intended to be flush with the new dais floor level. No stratified pottery could be



Fig. 10. Plan of east dais retaining wall and external buttress

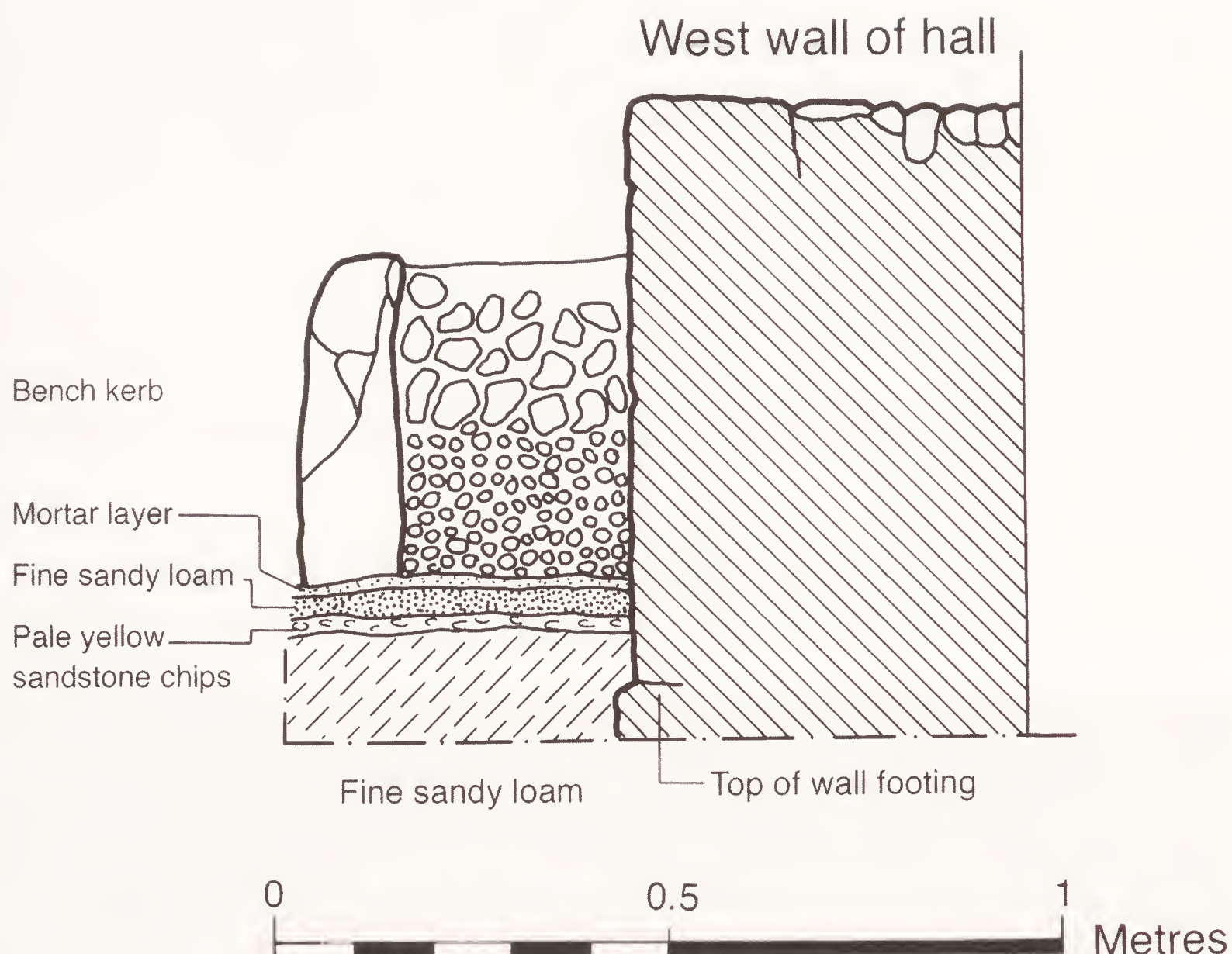


Fig. 11. Section through west wall showing wall bench

directly associated with the insertion of this dais.

The 1888 excavation plan (Fig. 2) identified two doorways in this southern part of the hall, one at the southern end of the west wall, and the other at the western end of the south wall. Pacitto's excavations found no trace of the southern doorway, which, if it existed, must have been set at a higher level than the surviving wall and relate to the use of the dais. Evidence for the second doorway, to the south of the west wall, is now limited to a single ashlar jamb stone set into the inner face of the wall, again at possible dais level. This stone was plain and small, and set with its rebate facing out. However, as the surviving wall core rises higher than this stone, there is the alternative possibility that this stone was simply re-used. Furthermore, the external face of the wall at this point comprise large blocks of neatly squared freestone, the upper (second) course of which had a chamfer running its full length, but none of these stones showed any signs of the wear that might have been expected to be associated with the threshold of a doorway. In short, nothing was found to confirm the existence of either of these doorways described in the 1888 report.

Bench

A feature, recorded in 1888 as a 'stone seat', extended for a distance of about 10.5 m along the inner face of the western wall. It consisted of a single row of large, rough limestone blocks set on edge and mortared into place, with the space behind packed with mortar and small rubble (Fig. 11). It projected about

0.4 m in front of the wall, and stood to about the same height. This feature was plainly an addition to the original Phase One west wall, as some wall plaster, albeit in a poor state, had survived behind it. Scaled beneath this wall bench was a mortar floor layer corresponding in level, and probably contemporary with, with the lower edge of the wall plaster. Beneath this was a thin layer of sandy loam overlying a layer of pale yellow sandstone chips that marked the floor make-up of the Phase One structure.

Several other features of the building first recorded in 1888 were re-encountered. A 'raised pavement', or 'L-shaped' platform at the north-eastern corner (Fig. 2) covered the position of the north-east stylobate and suggest that this may have been some form of post-demolition feature. It appeared somewhat irregular in form and comprised a weathered mound of stone and earth. It does not easily lend itself to interpretation.

Central Pit And Associated Drains

A stone-lined pit, centrally placed between the middle pair of stylobate pads, was recorded in 1888, when it was described as having two stone-lined chan-



Fig. 12. Central pit within Hall (1980)

nels, or drains, leading from it from the north-east and north-west. By 1973 all traces of any north-west channel had gone, but the north-east one survived in part, in a somewhat disjointed state, for a distance of almost 2.4 m (Fig. 7). The pit, which was roughly 'D' shaped in plan (Fig. 12), measured 0.7 m – 0.9 m at the top, and was lined with vertical, irregularly shaped slabs of limestone. It was about 0.6 m in depth; the fill having been cleared out in 1888. No capstones for either the channels or the pit survived or were recorded. As all higher levels had been removed from the area, it is now not possible to say when these features were constructed or for what purpose.

Hearths

The only other secondary features to survive inside the hall itself were a series of small oval or circular hearths that had been used for lead smelting. These were all situated within the northern half, and took the form of small, bowl-shaped pits around which the clay was reddened and baked (Fig. 7 – feature c). Much lead dross was still present, and the possibility is that they were used to melt scrap lead, perhaps during demolition. However, there were no datable finds associated with these features.

Service Wing

The walling of the surviving service wing at the north of the hall differs from that of the rest of the structure in several respects. Firstly much of the stone is less well shaped and the courses differ markedly, particularly along the line of the west wall. Secondly, the walls survive to more substantial heights than elsewhere on the building, and are thicker, particularly the internal screens passage wall. Finally, the walling material contains a considerable number of re-used ashlar and moulded stones. Collectively this suggests that this surviving service wing represents a substantial re-build of the original north bay of the Phase One hall. Indeed the greater thickness of the rebuilt walls in comparison to those of the rest of the hall might even suggest provision of first floor rooms above, perhaps to house a domestic steward or pantry servants?

Further corroboration for this rebuild of the north bay comes from the western external screens passage door separating the service wing from the remainder of the hall (Fig. 7). As indicated earlier, the north and south jambs of this doorway differ. The northern jamb forms the south-west corner of the service wing and still stands three courses high, with an internal rebate and an external chamfer. Hope mentioned a half-round moulding here, but he seems to have been mistaken. This chamfer extended for the full height of the top stone, but was stopped halfway down the middle one, while the lower stone had a square corner. A closer examination, however, showed that the stopping in the middle stone had been rather crudely effected by re-using a piece of broken mullion with no attempt at smoothing the surface of the break. An area of paving within the doorway itself extended for the full width, and seemed to be associated with the construction and setting of both jambs. This paving overlay an earlier floor surface of rough cobbling.

The service wing itself consisted of two rooms (Fig. 13) either side a central passage that led out towards the kitchen range to the north, all occupying what had been the original fifth bay of the Phase One hall. The Phase One Scarborough ware aquamanile (Fig. 8, no. 3) was sealed below the cobbled floor of the central passageway. Both rooms and the passage opened out into the main hall in the

traditional symmetrical format of the screens passage. The two outer doorways led into the service rooms, each measuring about 4.6 m by 5.2 m, while the central one gave onto the passageway 1.5 m wide leading outside to the kitchen. Each of the three south-facing doorways to this service wing had cobbled entrances (Fig. 7). Several sherds from the Scarborough ware jug (Fig. 8, no. 4) were recovered from under the cobbled floor of the western room.

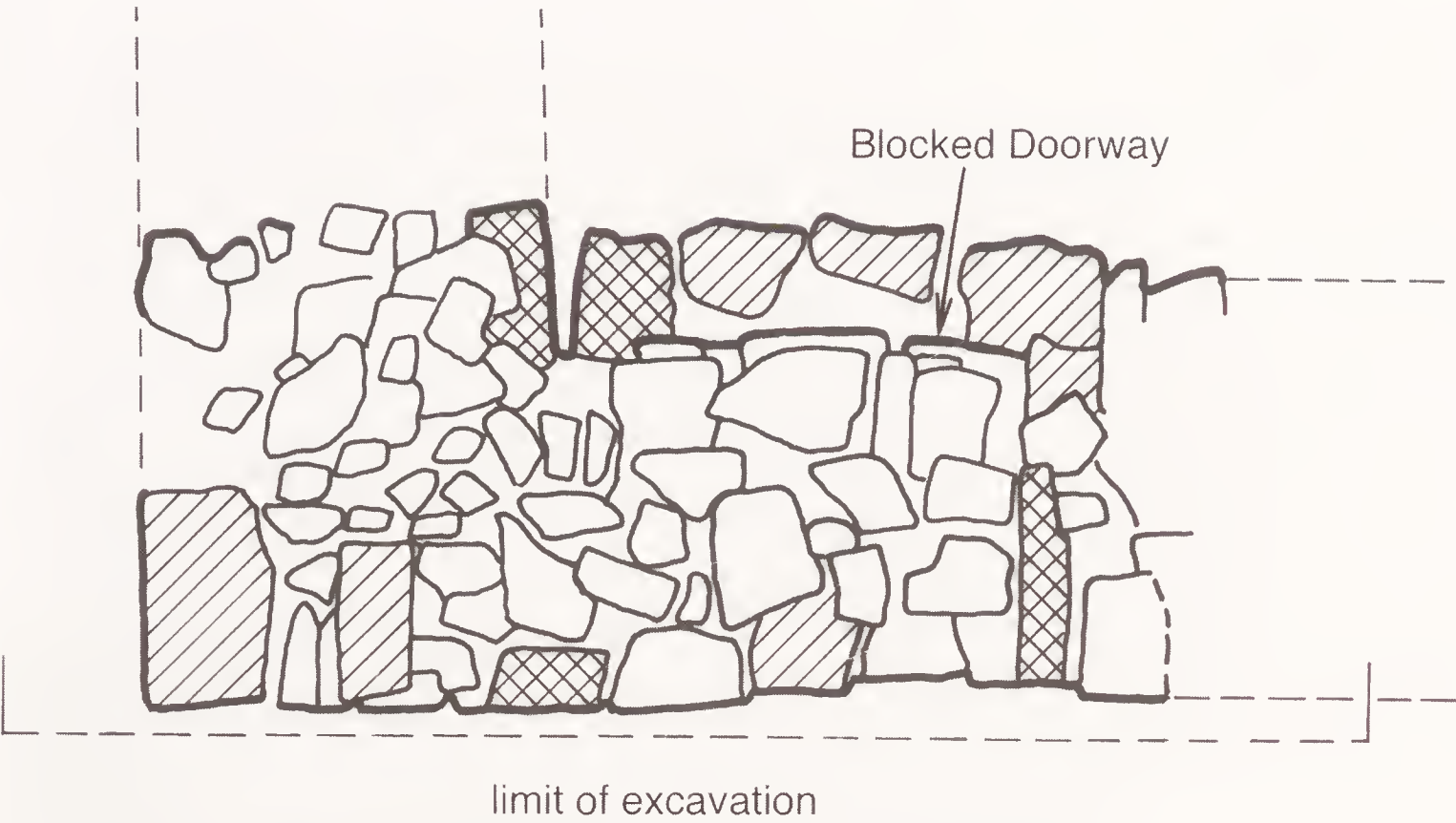
The service wing itself seems to have seen some minor modifications during its lifetime. The western room originally had an external doorway in the northernmost part of its west wall. This was later blocked (Fig. 14).

Romanesque Voussoirs

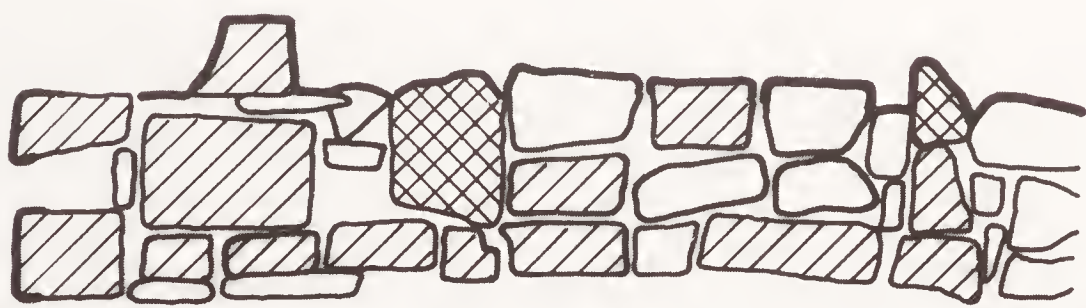
The 1888 excavations produced a late Romanesque voussoir, which Hope ascribed to *c.* 1130 (above section 1b) and said came from the north-east inter-



Fig. 13. Eastern room of Hall Service Wing, looking west (1973)



Plan of NW corner of Service Wing



East facing elevation of NW corner of Service Wing



Reused sandstone blocks



Reused architectural fragments



Fig. 14. Plan and section of north-west corner of Service Wing showing re-used masonry

nal service wing doorway. However, given the apparently plain nature of the surviving parts of the screens passage doorways and the re-use of stonework in the general wall construction of the service wing, it is perhaps more likely that it was a re-used stone from the Phase One building. Indeed two similar fragments were recovered from the central hall area (Fig. 4, from squares G3 and G4) (Fig. 15), neither *in situ*.

Rita Wood has contributed this short note commenting on the date and function of these three voussoirs:

‘The preferred date would certainly be for work under Henry II rather than King John. If the three stones are from the same arch, they have an even higher degree of variation than is usual in mid-century work, not only in the number of roundels but the form of the leaves on the roll. This suggests a variety of workmen and not very high expectations.’

This raises the general question as to the origin of the re-used stonework used in the construction of the service wing. It is quite possible that it represents the re-use of material from those parts of the Phase One hall that were cleared to make way for this re-build. Certainly the quality of the mouldings would be compatible with the quality of the surviving Phase One ashlar work, and a mid twelfth-century date for these mouldings would relate well to the identified Phase One pottery described above.

Porch

Excavation on the eastern screens passage doorway revealed a pair of post holes set outside (Figs. 7 and 16). A corresponding pair was reported outside the western doorway. These might have represented temporary affairs designed to support roof and walls over the doorways while alterations to the stonework of the doorways was taking place. Alternatively they could represent timber porches, added to provide additional shelter to these doorways and the screens passage beyond.

Excavation outside the west wall of the hall revealed a series of loosely stratified deposits, containing a considerable amount of pottery and other artefacts generally attributable to Phase Two.

Phase Two ‘A’ Pottery

As reported above, the surviving archaeology of the service wing saw a small number of deposits that could be related to the construction and initial ‘occupation’ of the two service rooms. The small group of associated pottery is reported below as Phase Two ‘A’, and was dominated by the Scarborough II fabric whose vessels forms suggested a mid to late thirteenth-century date range. Vessel 4, is of mid twelfth-century form, and probably represents disturbed deposits from the Phase One occupation.

Pottery Vessels: Phase Two ‘A’, Occupation (Service Wing)

Fabric	Jug	Cooking-Pot	Aquamanile	Lamp?
Scarborough III	1			
Scarborough I	2			1
Scarborough II	48		2	
Staxton		9		
White Gritty Ware	3			



Fig. 15. Romanesque voussoirs (A.M. Lab. 1980)



Fig. 16. East doorway to Hall showing post emplacements for porch, looking west

Phase Two A (Fig. 8, nos. 4–9)

4 – Scarborough III jug. Pale orange-cream outer surface skin, pale yellowish-white core and inner surface. Bright orange-yellow glaze with greenish patches on handle and lower body margin. Applied iron-rich pellets causing minor orange-brown trailing above each spot (fired inverted). Upper handle attachment has single finger indentation on inner surface. [K3]

5 – Scarborough I jug. Orange-red fabric. Brownish-green glaze. [K4]

6 – Scarborough I lamp base. Soft, pinkish-white surfaces and pale pinkish core. Remains of a bright copper-green glaze. Knife-cut basal chamfers and internally. [K4]

7 – Scarborough II jug. Pale greyish core and dull, pale red inner surface. Bright apple-green glaze. Traces of scored design? [K2/3]

8 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Worn grey-buff surfaces and pale blue-grey core. [K4]

9 – White Gritty Ware jug. Pale yellowish-cream surfaces and pale bluish core. Hard, sand-tempered fabric. Apple-green glaze. [K4/5]

Phase Two 'B' Pottery From The Hall

The remainder of the Phase Two pottery includes the subsequent pottery from the service wing that relates to modifications to the service rooms and cross passage, along with the small number of 'occupation deposit' vessels identifiable from the rest of the Phase Two hall, and is all grouped together as Phase Two 'B'. The bulk of this Phase Two B material came from the service wing/cross-passage/porch area of the hall, and the increase in the number of cooking-pots represented would relate well to the use of the adjacent kitchen block.

The overall date range of this Phase Two B pottery assemblage ranged from the thirteenth to early fourteenth century. A smaller amount of late fourteenth-century and early fifteenth-century material was also recovered, with most of these vessels associated with the uppermost layers of disturbed material of the

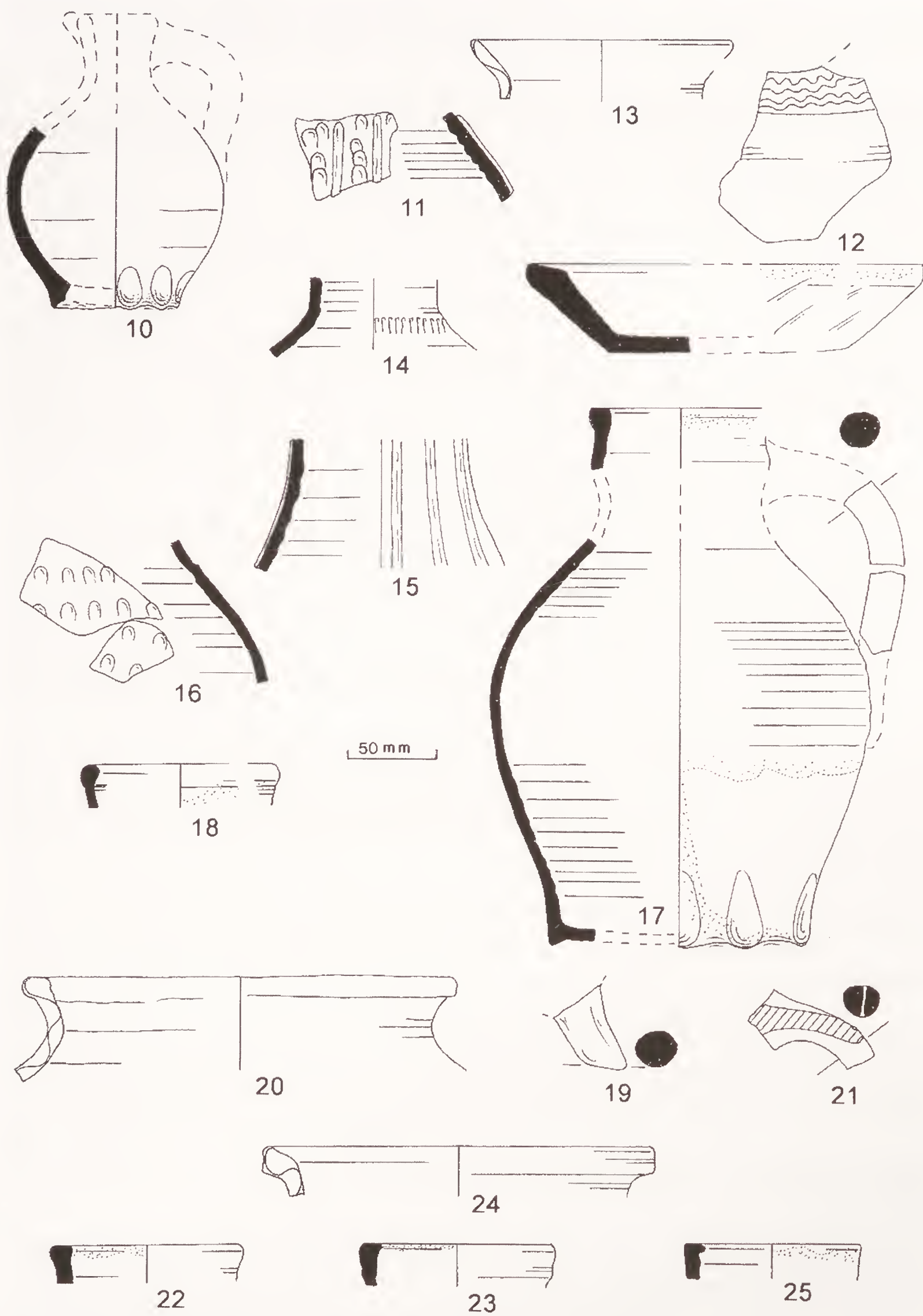


Fig. 17. Phase Two 'B' pottery from the Hall

northern, service wing of the building, raising the possibility that this part of the hall may have survived in use later than the rest of the structure.

Hall: Vessels from Phase Two 'B', Occupation

Fabric	Jug	Pipkin	Bowl	C/Pot	Aquamanile	Mug/Cup	B-Dish	Other
Scarborough I	16		1		1			
Scarborough II	430	2	1		2		1	2
Staxton	1			44				
Brandsby	1			1				
Reg. Import	2							
Siegburg						4		
French	2							
Dutch Red	2			1				
Smooth Humb.	1							
Modern x 3								

Service Wing, Western Room (Fig. 17, nos. 10–14)

10 – Scarborough I cruet. Pale cream surfaces and pale pinkish-buff core. Fritted copper-green glaze to base. [K2/3]

11 – Scarborough II jug. Off-white fabric and deep copper-green glaze. Applied strip and pellet design. [K2/3]

12 – Scarborough II basting-dish. Pale orange-pink outer surface and blue-grey core. Dark copper-green glaze. Combed rim face and traces of an applied handle. Slab made (Hayfield 1980). [K2]

13 – Staxton Ware unknown form. Pale greyish surfaces and bluish-grey core. Burnt and sooted. [K2/3]

14 – Siegburg Stoneware drinking mug. Pale grey-buff core, Silver-grey outer surface glaze with a brownish lustre, and dull purplish-brown inner surface. Rouletted shoulder band. [K2]

Service Wing, Eastern Room (Fig. 17, nos. 15–20)

15 – Scarborough II jug. Light orange core and pale yellowish-cream inner surface. Bright greenish-brown glaze. [K4/L4]

16 – Scarborough II jug. Pale yellowish-cream core and inner surface. Bright yellowish-green glaze and applied pellets. [K5]

17 – Scarborough II jug. Yellowish-cream outer surface, cream core and inner surface. Bright, mottled copper green glaze on both body and base. [K4]

18 – Regional Imported jug. Hard sand-tempered fabric, pale pinkish outer surface, buff core and dull orange inner surface skin. Yellowish-green glaze with orange-brown upper margin. [K4/L4]

Cross Passage (Fig. 17, nos. 19–21)

19 – Scarborough II aquamanile foot. Pale greyish-blue core with greyish-white margins. Copper-green glaze. [J5]

20 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Grey-buff surfaces and blue-grey core. [J5]

21 – French, Beauvais, jug handle. Fine, smooth-textured off-white fabric. Bright lemon-yellow glaze with orange-brown painted stripe down handle. Upper handle attachment plugged. [J5]

East Doorway and Porch (Fig. 17, nos. 22–25)

- 22 – Scarborough II jug. Pale orange inner surface and off-white core. Dull green glaze. [J5]
23 – Scarborough II jug. Off-white core and pale orange inner surface. Dull copper-green glaze. [J6]
24 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Pale brownish-buff surfaces and blue-grey core. [J5/K5]
25 – French Saintonge Polychrome jug. Soft, smooth off-white fabric. Thin, pale lemon-yellow glaze. [J6/K6]

Hall: Demolition

Hall: Vessels from Demolition Deposits

Fabric	Jug	Pipkin	Bowl	C/Pot	Aquam	Mug	B. Dish	Other
Scarborough I	51	1			1		1	
Scarborough II	208	13					1	
Staxton	1		1	18				
White Gritty	1							
Regional Import	4							
Siegburg						3		
Langerwehe						1		
Dutch	1							1
Humberware	4							
Smooth Humberware	3							
Modern x 63								

It is difficult to say what of the Phase Two ‘B’ demolition assemblage can be associated with the actual use of the hall: empty or decaying buildings readily attract rubbish from other parts of a site. Most of the pottery associated with any excavated building usually derives from post-abandonment deposits, and indeed the component sherds of several of the more complete vessels illustrated below were recovered from contemporary deposits both inside and outside the hall. It is also highly probable that much of this material was disturbed during the 1888 excavations.

Hall: Demolition (Fig 18, nos. 26–28)

- 26 – Scarborough I jug. Pinkish-orange core and surfaces. Copper-green glaze on outer surface and also over large parts of upper body of inner surface. Applied cruciform decoration with impressed rosette terminals. [F4, G2, G3, H2, H3]
27 – Scarborough II pipkin. Yellowish-cream outer surface, cream core and inner surface. Bright orange-yellow glaze. Burnt and sooted. [Various locations]
28 – Humberware jug rim and upper handle attachment. Pinkish-orange outer surface, orange core and inner surface. Olive-green glaze with purplish margins. Finger pushed deeply into handle from inside. [E2]

Hall: Unstratified (Fig 18, nos. 29–32)

Although the unstratified material has not been tabulated, a small number of

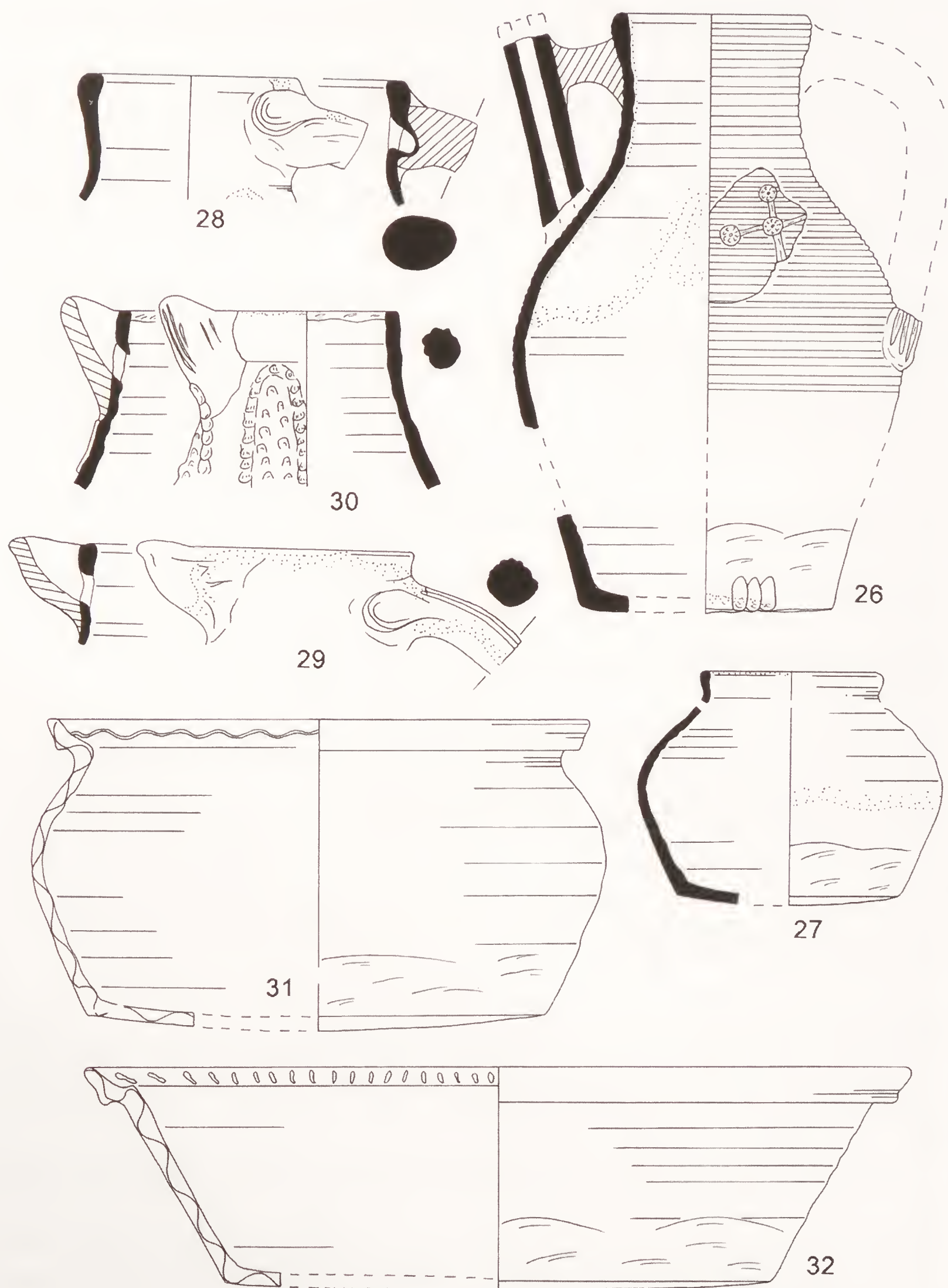


Fig. 18. Demolition and unstratified pottery from the Hall

vessels were considered worthy of illustration.

29- Scarborough II 'applied lip' jug. Pale pinkish-cream surfaces and off-white core. Pale apple-green glaze with yellowish margins. [various]

30 – Regional Import, applied lip jug. Pale dull red outer surface, blue-grey core and pale orange-buff inner surface. Hard, thin, finely sand-tempered fabric, producing slightly rough surfaces. Apple-green glaze with some iridescence, and pockmarked margins. Post-firing chamfering to rim. [H5/6]

31 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Dull yellow-brown outer surface, blue-grey core and dull orange-brown inner surface. Burnt and sooted. [various]

32 – Staxton Ware bowl. Grey-buff/orange-brown outer surface, blue-grey core and dull orange-brown inner surface. Outer surface burnt. [E2]

THE KITCHEN EXCAVATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The 1888 excavations had revealed an ancillary structure just to the north of the hall. It was interpreted at the time as a kitchen, and the plan (Fig. 2) showed a curious complexity of walls and internal structures. The 1973 and 1978 excavation seasons opened up this area to identify the remaining structures and seek any surviving stratified deposits. Those structures are shown on Figure 19, and suggest that many of the features reportedly uncovered in 1888 had failed to survive. Also it became clear that the 1888 plan had attempted to rationalise a number of the walls into the appearance of a single structure. The ground surface within and to the east and south of the kitchen had been taken down to well below the level of the medieval floors in 1888, and the only surviving stratification was preserved below the various sections of later internal 'walling' that had been left *in situ*. If these difficulties were not enough, the 'consolidation' work undertaken on these remains following the completion of the excavations has now masked or removed a number of the structural nuances to have survived to 1978.

Notwithstanding these constraints, areas of primary walling could be identified along with indications of an associated floor make-up, and these, and any related deposits, have been attributed as Phase 1. All subsequent modifications to the buildings are identified as Phase 2. It is important to emphasise that there was no stratigraphic relationship between the hall and the kitchen, and therefore there is no actual or even implied chronological correlation between the phases of the hall and those of the kitchen.

PRIMARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE KITCHEN (PHASE 1)

The west and north walls of a structure survive along with a small segment of a possible eastern return (Fig. 19). These walls survived to no more than three courses, and to varying widths. Wall construction comprised roughly shaped and roughly coursed stone that contrasted with the more regular stone and ashlar of the Phase One hall. Instead, the kitchen walls had more similarities to the coarser walling of the Phase Two hall service wing, although lacking any evidence for the reuse of dressed stone that had characterised the service wing.

Despite the 1888 plan, these recent excavations found no surviving evidence for a south wall to this structure, or indeed for much of the east wall. Although contemporary documents talk about kitchen buildings, it cannot now be demonstrated for certain that at any stage these remains constituted a regular, fully

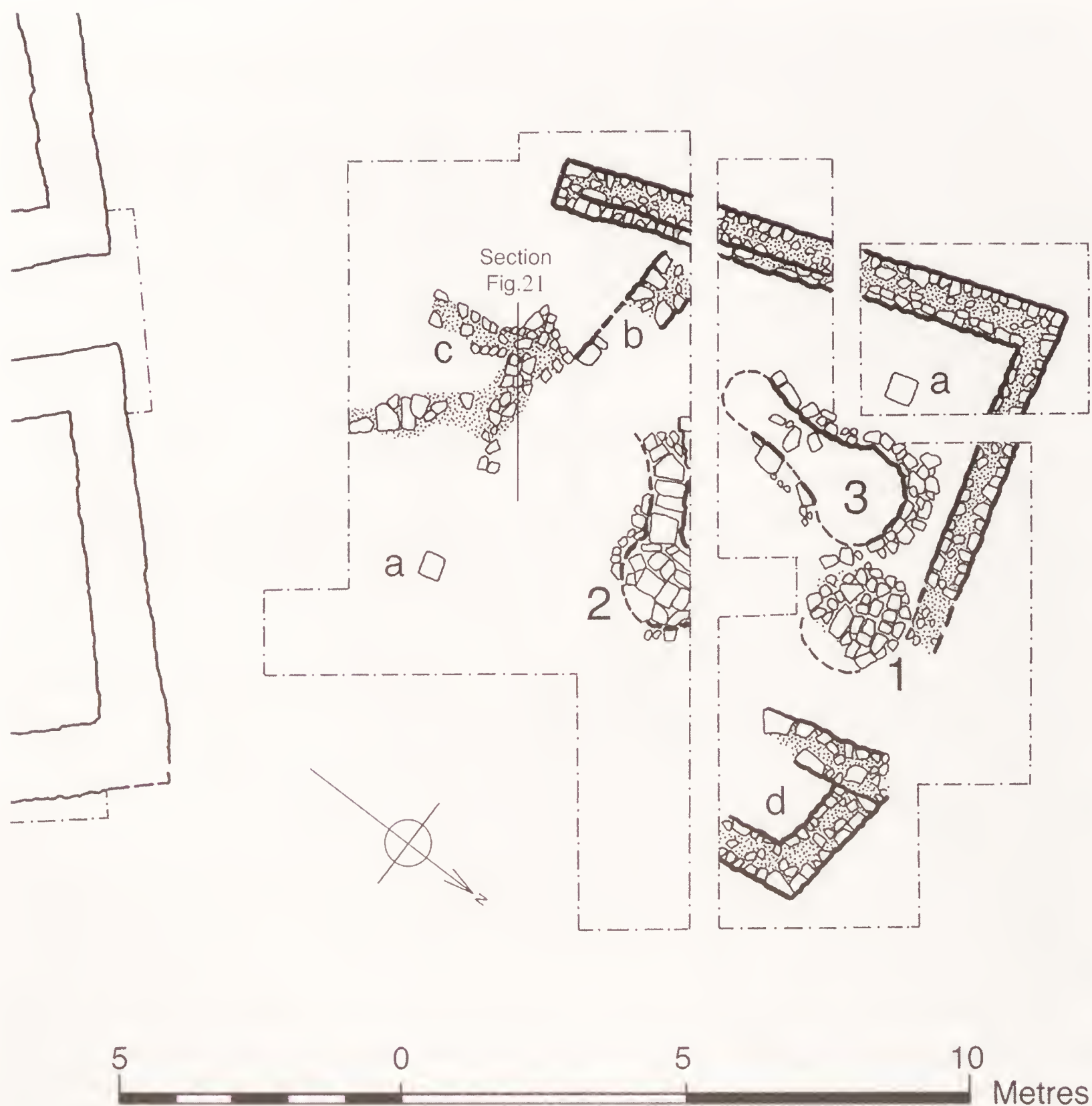


Fig. 19. Plan of the Kitchen

roofed, four-walled structure. Indeed, the full size of the original structure cannot now be accurately determined as the surviving walling seems to represent only parts of the northern and western walls. As Figure 19 shows, the southern part of the west wall seems to have a deliberate termination (Fig. 20). This could have been one jamb of a doorway as the 1888 plan attempts to show, although there was no surviving evidence to indicate any continuation.

The most important area of surviving stratification within this building came from a north-facing, east-west section within square M4 (Figs. 19 and 21). It showed two levelling layers of dark brown clay loam (Fig. 21 – layers 14 and 16) separated by a lens of stone fragments and small pebbles, overlain by a 60-90 mm layer of clean pale yellow crushed sandstone (Fig. 21 – layer 9). This is interpreted as levelling and construction deposits overlain by a crushed sandstone floor make-up associated with the Phase One kitchen. Floor make-up



Fig. 20. Secondary internal walling (grid square M4) within Kitchen, looking west (1973)

layer 9 was also found to extend southwards to the west wall termination and across the line of the wall itself. Cooking-pot rim (Fig. 22, no. 38) came from underneath this crushed sandstone flooring layer in square M4.

At the north-east side of this main structure was a small, three sided section of wall. The northern and eastern arms were of one build, and the north wall appeared to butt up against the western segment (Fig. 19 – feature d), which could, in turn, have formed part of the eastern return wall to the main structure, but there were no surviving direct stratigraphic links.

Apart from the crushed sandstone flooring, there were few other internal features of this building that could be reliably identified as belonging to its original construction. The foundations of three ovens or kilns were found close to the north wall of the structure. The earliest of these (Fig. 19 – feature 1) had been set into the Phase 1 floor level, and, although damaged, had a circular

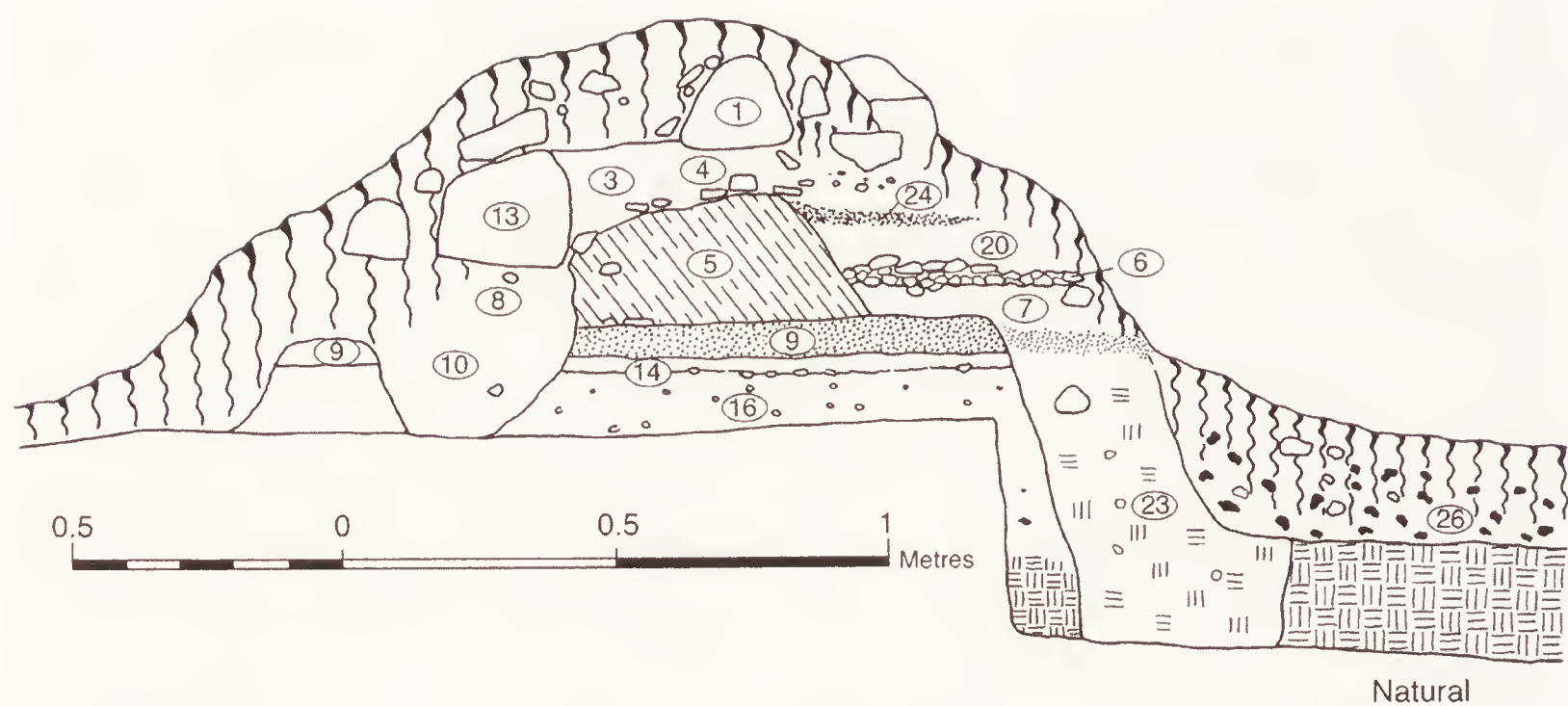


Fig. 21. Internal section Kitchen area, grid square M4

shape with no trace of any associated flue, and as such is more convincingly interpreted as an oven than a kiln.

Pottery from the Kitchens (Phase 1)

Kitchen: Vessels from Phase 1, Construction

Fabric	Jug
Scarborough III	5
Scarborough II	2

This small group of pottery relates to the construction of the kitchen block. The significant vessels in this respect are the Scarborough II jugs, one of which is illustrated, attributable to the early to mid thirteenth century, and suggest, albeit on slender grounds, that the construction of the Phase 1 kitchen block was secondary to that of the adjoining Phase One hall.

Phase 1, Construction (Fig. 22, no. 33)
33 – Scarborough II jug handle. Pale orange-pink outer surface, pale yellowish-white core and yellowish-cream inner surface. Mottled copper-green glaze. Single finger deeply inserted into upper handle attachment. [O3]

Kitchen: Vessels from Phase 1, Occupation

Fabric	Jug	Pipkin	Cooking-Pot	Other
Scarborough III	8			
Scarborough I	5			1
Scarborough II	77	1	1	
Staxton	1		28	
Stray	3			

The predominance of the Scarborough II fabric in this occupation group, along with their vessel forms, would imply a thirteenth-century date for this Phase 1 occupation, and as such would, in turn, provide some degree of corroboration for a thirteenth-century construction of the kitchen.

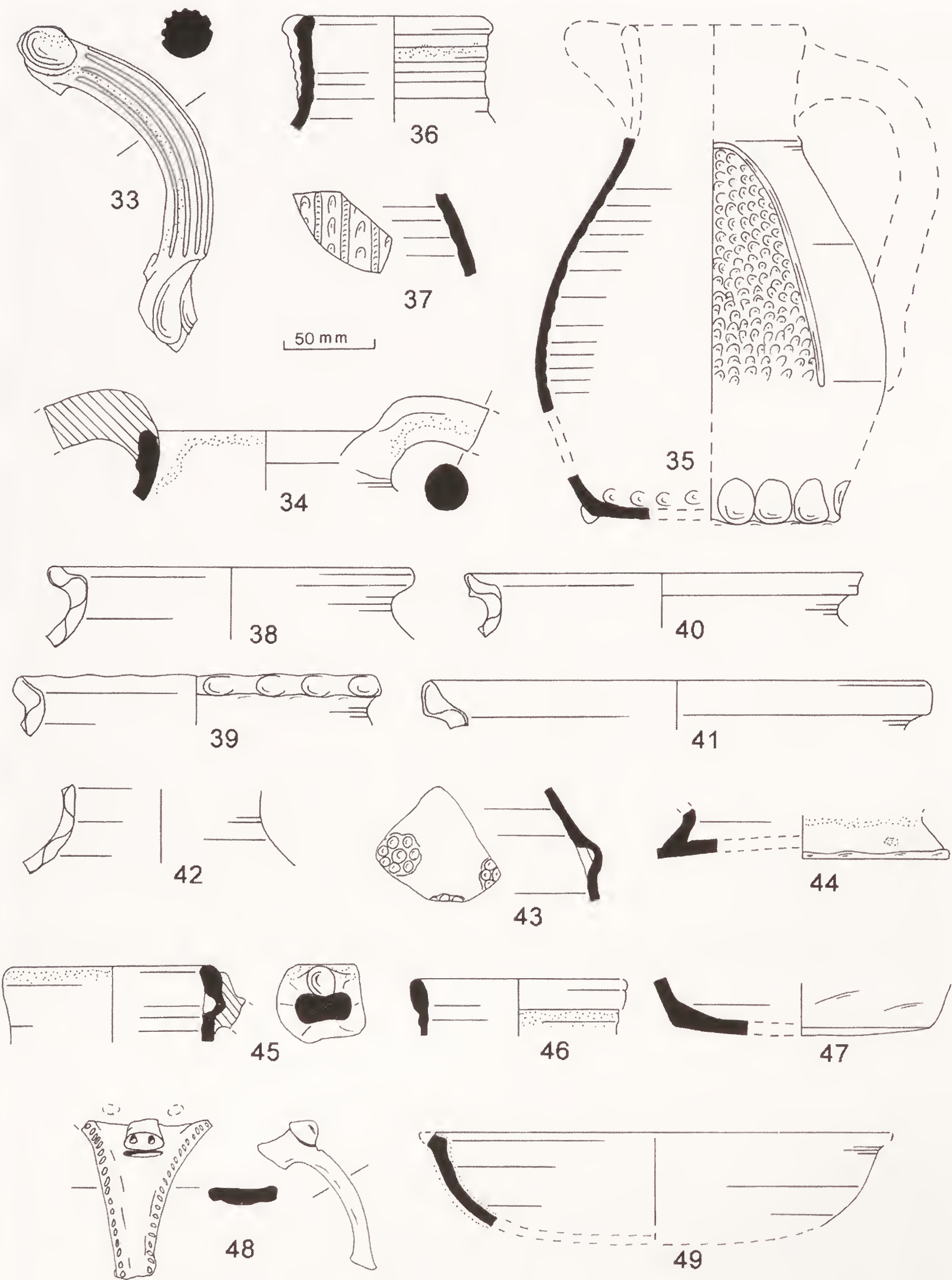


Fig. 22. Pottery from the Kitchen

Phase 1, Occupation (Fig. 22, nos. 34–42)

34 – Scarborough I, unknown form. Dull orange-red surfaces, orange-vermilion core. Thick, bright, yellowish-green glaze, mottling at margins, extending over into inner surface of the vessel. Perhaps two-handled? [O4]

35 – Scarborough II jug. Light pinkish-cream outer surface, off-white core and cream-buff inner surface. Basic glaze is a bright yellow. Surviving sherds indicate two (of three?) fields or panels created by vertical strips and ‘tears’ of self-clay. The one panel had a copper-wash producing a bright copper-green panel, the other with an iron-wash producing a bright orange-brown panel. [L4]

36 – Scarborough II jug. Pale yellowish-cream surfaces and core. Bright copper-green glaze, mottling at margins. [M3/N3]

37 – Scarborough II jug. Pale yellowish-cream surfaces and core. Yellowish-green glaze. Applied serrated vertical strips and pellets in self-clay. [M3/N3]

38 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Grey/greyish-orange outer surface, blue-grey core and dull orange-buff inner surface. [M4]

39 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Light orange surfaces and pale bluish-buff core. Burnt and sooted outer surface; internal salts deposit. [M3/N3]

40 – Staxton Ware cooking-pot. Grey-buff outer surface, pale grey core and greyish-buff inner surface. Burnt and sooted. [M3/N3]

41 – Staxton Ware wide-mouthed cooking-pot or peat pot. Grey-brown surfaces and light blue-grey core. [M4]

42 – Staxton Ware jug. Pale grey core and pale buff-brown inner surface. Thick olive-green glaze with slight fritting in places. [M3/N3]

SECONDARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE KITCHEN (PHASE 2)

There were four elements to this structure that appeared to be secondary features and are therefore attributed to Phase 2. There were two stylobate blocks (Fig. 19 – feature a), the two kiln foundations (Fig. 19 – features 2 and 3), the series of small wall-like foundations (Fig. 19 – feature c), and the three-sided, north-eastern structure (Fig. 19 – feature d). Each is discussed in turn below.

Stylobate Blocks

Two blocks of dressed stones were found within the area of the kitchen and were tentatively identified as stylobates (Fig. 19 – feature a). One of these lay between kiln 3 and the west wall (Fig. 23), while the other was situated diametrically opposite, about 9 m away to the south-east. The one in the north-west corner is mentioned in the 1888 report, when it was described as having on top a ‘pyramidal’ stone, although the latter cannot now be traced, and it is not clear whether or not it had a flat top capable of supporting a timber. Both stones appeared to be *in situ*: any others have been lost.

One difficulty in interpreting this building relates the ‘missing’ south and east walls, and whether or not they ever existed. The surviving historical records refer to the dilapidated or ruinous state of the buildings. Buildings in such a state were not necessarily out of use, and kilns and ovens do not need to be housed within a fully roofed four-walled structure. The stylobate block, in the south-east corner would have been on the alignment of an eastern wall return. It could be speculated from this that, at Phase 2 at least, this structure lay open to the south and east, perhaps in the form of an open shed, with the walls to the north and west providing windbreaks for the effective operation of the kilns or ovens within.



Fig. 23. North-west corner of Kitchen, showing stylobate and Kiln 3, looking north-west

Kilns

The principal internal features consisted of the remains of two kilns, found close together within the northern half of the building (Fig. 19 – features 2 and 3). Each had been built in shallow pits. Both kilns 2 and 3 were demonstrably later than Oven 1, with the stonework for Kiln 2 slightly overlapping the edge of Oven 1. Both Kilns 2 and 3 had a stokehole and flue about 2 m in length, and Kiln 2 measured 1.7 m in diameter, whilst Kiln 3 was 1.5 m in diameter. Although Kilns 2 and 3 were close together they did not impinge upon one another, and could possibly have been in contemporary use. The flue of Kiln 2 contained both coal and cinder, while the stoke hole of Kiln 3 contained a quantity of partially burned coal.

Internal Walling Features

The most confusing part of this building was a series of four fragmentary and overlapping sections of stonework to the south of the building within Grid Square M4 (Fig. 19 – feature c and Fig. 20). All this stonework overlay the crushed sandstone Phase 1 flooring layer. Stones from two of the ‘walls’ are shown in section in Figure 21 (features 1 and 13), and are demonstrably secondary features.

Although interpreted (creatively) in 1888 as parts of a complex south wall arrangement for the building, only one short section (Fig. 19 – feature b) is convincing as a wall, albeit a rather crudely built one. The remainder are more amorphous alignments of stones and rubble. The two shown on Figure 21, features 1 and 13 for example, were laid directly on relatively loose loam leveling/occupation materials. Wall b may possibly have been a repair to the Phase Two structure, or a further attempt to control the draught for the two kilns. To add to the confusion, if wall b is projected south-eastwards, it intersects with the south-east stylobate block (Fig. 19 – feature a). Similarly if the east-west stone alignment of c is projected eastwards, it intersects with the same stylobate block; if projected westwards it intersects with the southern end of the west wall. If this is structurally significant it is not understood why.

There was presumably a passage from the service wing of the hall to this kitchen structure, and one that would have been fairly busy when food was being prepared and taken to the hall, and although the two buildings seem never to have been physically connected, there must at least have been a serviceable pathways between the two. It is therefore tempting to see the more amorphous stonework of Figure 21, feature c, as the foundations and/or edging for such a pathway.

North-East Structure

The small three-sided stonework at the north-east of this structure (Fig. 19 – feature d) appears associated with the Phase 2 kitchen, although the western segment may represent part of an east wall of the main Phase 1 structure, and is earlier than the north and east segments which abut it. A document of 1260 (below – pp. 83) offers a possible interpretation, referring to a ‘tresonce’ or small larder belonging to the kitchen.

It is possible that the hall had fallen out of use by the Phase 2 kitchen, although there is some evidence (see above) for the northern service wing of the hall surviving in use. Indeed during Phase 2 this ‘kitchen’ structure may even have changed from kitchen to brewhouse with only the northern and western walls retained in order to provide some shelter from the prevailing winds. If the stylobate blocks belonged to this secondary period of use, it is possible they were part of a number that carried a full or partial roof over the structure. Quantities of limestone and ceramic roofing tiles (Fig. 24) were discovered outside the building, principally from grid squares N3, O3 and O4 (Fig. 4) where there was some evidence that they had been stacked at the base of the structure. There was unfortunately no indication whether these tiles related to either the primary or secondary uses of the ‘kitchen’, although the stone tiles may have originally originated from a more important building, possibly the hall itself.

Pottery from the Kitchens (Phase 2)

The pottery from the Phase 2 kitchen structures extends significantly later in date than that from the hall itself, with a range of later fourteenth and early fifteenth-century material, although little was stratified.

Kitchen: Vessels from Phase 2, Construction

Fabric	Jug	Cooking-Pot	Mug/Cup
Scarborough III	1		
Scarborough I	1		
Scarborough II	29		
Staxton		2	
Regional Import	1		
Humberware			1

Drinking-mugs are some of the earliest Humberware forms to be recognised, and might comfortably be associated with the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Although, the bulk of the material here is Scarborough II, the relief-moulded ‘raspberry’ motif of no. 43, is one employed on both later Scarborough products and early Humberwares, and again of similar date.

Phase 2 Construction (Fig. 22, nos. 43–44)

43 – Scarborough II jug. Orange-red core and yellowish-cream inner surface. Bright, brownish-orange glaze. Relief-moulded raspberry motifs. [N5/N6]

44 – Regional Imported jug. Hard, rough-textured, sand-tempered fabric. Pale orange outer surface, pale grey core and yellowish-cream inner surface. Traces of an olive-green glaze. [N3]

Kitchen: Vessels from Phase 2, Occupation

Fabric	Jug	Pipkin	Bowl	Cook/Pot	Aqam	Mug	Bast.Dish	Other
Scarborough III	2							
Scarborough I	9				1		1	
Scarborough II	77	2	1		2			2
Staxton				13				
White Gritty	1							
Hallgate ‘B’	1							
Brandsby	2							
Regional Import	3	1						
Siegburg						3		
Saintonge	2							
Dutch	1							
Humberware	2							
Smooth Humberware	2							
Hambleton	1							
Modern x	4							

The presence of the modern pottery sherds warns of some contamination. However, the Dutch Redware, Smooth Humberware and Hambleton jugs can all be ascribed a date in the later fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. If the Kitchen Phase 2 construction deposits above are suggested as being late thirteenth or fourteenth century, it would imply that this occupation phase may have had a

currency of a hundred years or more.

Phase 2 Occupation (Fig. 22, nos. 45–47)

- 45 – Scarborough II jug. Cream core and light orange-cream inner surface. Copper-green glaze with marginal mottling. Unusually, handle applied with a single external thumbing, and a finger pushed deep into handle from inner surface. [M3]
- 46 – Regional Imported jug. Hard, sand-tempered fabric, pale grey surfaces and whitish-grey core. Traces of a corroded glaze. [N5/O5]
- 47 – Hambleton Ware jug base. Blue-grey core with off-white margins, and greyish-white inner surface. Distinctive apple-green glaze with orange-brown flecks. [O3]

Kitchen: Vessels from Demolition Deposits

Fabric	Jug	Pipkin	Bowl	Cook/Pot	Mug/Cup	Other
Early Medieval Sandy Ware	1					
Scarborough I	22		2			
Scarborough II	174	7	2			1
Staxton	1			40		
Regional Import	2					
Siegburg					1	
Humberware	1					
Ryedale Ware	1					
Modern x 3						

This demolition material includes residual and intrusive material spanning the site’s entire ceramic range. The number of late-medieval wares of the later fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth century is relatively small, however, the Ryedale jug, and Cistercian ware cup would be appropriate to the very late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Demolition (Fig. 22, nos. 48–49)

- 48 – Scarborough II face-jug. Pale pinkish-buff surface and pale greyish-white core. Copper-green glaze, mottling where the glaze thins. Drawn fragment is an applied face and beard that looped from neck to shoulder of a highly decorated jug. [M3/N3]
- 49 – Scarborough II glazed shallow bowl. Blue-grey core. Unusually fully glazed; thick apple-green on inner surface with darker green streaks, thinner and paler on outer surface.[N5]

The assemblages from both hall and kitchens also included a number of sherds of nineteenth-century earthenware, amongst which were fragments from a range of military flatwares characterised by fine pale blue rim bandings and pale blue transfer cartouche designs of a wheel crossed with two diagonal cannon barrels, supported by a crown. Around the design and part of the cartouche, it says ‘1st EAST YORK ARTILLERY CORPS.’, and outside the cartouche is ‘WESTERN DIVISION ROYAL ARTILLERY’, and beneath the design, ‘SERGEANTS MESS’. These vessels are more fully considered as part of a forthcoming report in this journal on the excavations of the Barbican and Master Gunner’s House at the Castle, where other military small finds are reported on.

Likewise, during the course of excavation of the hall and kitchen, flints and

fragments of prehistoric pottery were recovered whenever any pre-medieval levels were exposed or disturbed. In some areas, particularly at the southern end of the hall, small fragments of such pottery were found trampled into an old ground surface in a density that suggests occupation deposits. This prehistoric material will be reported on separately and seen in context of the known prehistoric occupation of the site (Rutter 1953; 1959).

FINDS ASSEMBLAGE

INTRODUCTION

The site archive, held at the English Heritage stores at Helmsley, contains the detailed finds lists for these excavations. Much of the material was unstratified and, as such, did not warrant detailed analysis. However, a number of small stratified deposits were recovered which are of importance in understanding the development of the site.

Pottery drawings and their descriptions have already been included in sections 2 and 3 above. The few illustrated roofing tiles and small finds are dealt with together below. Quantities of glass were recovered from these excavations, but all were unstratified and of late nineteenth-century or later date. Likewise a few examples of military objects were encountered, again all unstratified, and these, for completeness, will be more fully considered in a forthcoming report in this journal on the excavations associated with the Master Gunner's House.

POTTERY

Introduction

Scarborough was one of the great centres of pottery production in medieval England. At its peak, kilns within the town were producing pottery of a quality of, style and design that were unsurpassed anywhere in the country. However, although several thousand sherds were recovered from these excavations, the great bulk was unstratified. Sherd size was generally small, and the sherd to vessel ratios low. Several sherds of ornate aquamaniles and highly decorated knight jugs provided a glimpse of the quality of the original assemblages, but most were too small to warrant illustration. Nevertheless, this pottery assemblage remains the principal means of making any form of chronological assessment of the hall and kitchen structures even though the poor stratification and high residual elements means that suggested date ranges are necessarily broad and tentative.

Methods

On all three seasons of excavation, finds were daily allocated an alphabetical finds code, relatable to a grid square within the excavation (Fig. 4) and also noting whether they came from, a stratified, or unstratified deposit. In later seasons of excavation a stratigraphic context number was added. Site note books, providing some stratigraphic detail, survive for two of the three seasons of excavation, and help elaborate site plans and section drawings. Initial analysis of the pottery was done by individual finds codes, and subsequently combined, first by context, and then by phase group into the tables provided in the texts above: all original analysis remains in archive. In terms of quantification, the number of pottery sherds in each fabric was counted, and then the sherds were carefully grouped into identifiable original vessels. All pottery tables in this report therefore represent vessel numbers rather than sherd numbers.

Fabric Descriptions

As there is still not an agreed regional nomenclature for pottery fabrics in the Scarborough area, the various fabric types are described briefly below:

1. Scarborough I - as defined by Farmer (1979, 28). A soft, slightly micaceous fabric, largely devoted to the production of fineware products including highly decorated jugs. Suspension glazes are usually bright and clear with brown and greens predominating. Both Scarborough I and II fabrics form part of a regional tradition of Orangeware fabrics that extend along the east coast and the Humber between Scarborough and Grimsby (Hayfield 1985). Date range; twelfth – thirteenth century.

2. Scarborough II (Farmer 1979, 28). A slightly harder Orangeware fabric than the above, often in thicker-walled vessels. The fabric is still soft and smooth with some fine sand tempering visible in section, including occasional, slightly large, milky, sub-rounded quartz grains. The resulting body colours, particularly surface colours, are generally paler than that of Scarborough I, often more yellowish. Glazes are again generally oranges, greens or browns, usually fairly glossy and consistently coloured. Glaze mottling is less common than on other Orangewares, but does occasionally occur on some lower glaze margins. Fineware products predominate, with some of the finest examples of this fabric occurring as highly decorated jugs and aquamaniles. Date range thirteenth – fourteenth century.

3. Scarborough III: Whiteware. In terms of fabric composition and potting techniques, there are similarities with Scarborough I, but with the seemingly deliberate intention to produce cream, buff or off-white coloured pottery. Yellow-green glazes predominate. Examples of splashed glazed pottery wasters in this distinctive fabric were discovered in Scarborough by the late Peter Farmer, and examples shown to the present writer, but remain unpublished. A suspension glazed version of this putative third Scarborough fabric has not hitherto been recognised and it is unfortunate that the site's poor stratification and the relatively small sherd size prevents a clearer definition. Probable date range twelfth century.

4. White Gritty Wares. Hard, well-fired grit-tempered fabric used in the production of both coarseware and fineware forms. Surface colours vary from creams, pale yellows and even very light buffs, whereas core colours are more often pale blues and greys. Thin, watery green and yellow green glazes predominated, the earliest being splashed glazed. This is a widely recognised generic fabric type across much of North and East Yorkshire (Hayfield 1986; Jennings 1992). Date range twelfth – fourteenth centuries.

5. Red Gritty Wares. Harder, thicker-walled, and more coarsely tempered than fabric 4, and with vessels oxidised to reds, oranges and buff, with some cores reduced to blue-greys. Only splashed-glazed vessels have been recognised from the castle. Probable date range late eleventh – mid twelfth centuries?

6. Early-Medieval Sandy Wares. A hard, almost brittle, sand-tempered fabric, producing smoothish-textured surfaces. The few examples from this site were oxidised to dull pale reds, with blue-grey cores. The only glazed examples were sparse olive-green splashed glazes, again implying an early medieval currency here at Scarborough. Both this fabric and the Red Gritty Wares above may prove examples of localised early-medieval jug production, usually splashed-glazed, and usually of a fairly short currency. They occur across York-

shire (e.g. Hayfield and Slater 1985), and in some cases differ markedly from the later, better established pottery products of a town (e.g. Doncaster, Hayfield 1984). Probable date range late eleventh – mid twelfth centuries?

7. Staxton/Potter Brompton Wares. A heavily sand-tempered coarseware fabric, usually coil-built and wheel-finished, oxidised to reds, browns and oranges, with core reduction in the thicker-walled vessels. With known production sites in the Vale of Pickering, these products achieved a wide distribution along the east coast of Yorkshire (Brewster and Hayfield 1992). Date range twelfth – fourteenth centuries.

8. Brandsby-type Wares. A hard, white, finely-gritted fineware fabric, probably produced from a range of sites across North Yorkshire, but with waster products known from Brandsby (Le Patourel 1968). In appearance a more finely tempered version of the white gritty fabric above, with a similar range of surface colours, but with more consistently coloured green and yellow-green suspension glazes. Probable date range thirteenth - fifteenth centuries.

9. Ryedale Type Wares. A late-medieval fineware fabric, finely tempered producing hard, smooth-textured surfaces. Vessels are characteristically reduced internally (usually as a result of glaze-sealing during the firing process), producing grey-black and black internal surfaces. Externally fabrics are oxidised to very dull pale reds or oranges. Glazes are often extensive (rim to base) dull (but consistently coloured) olive-greens, usually producing a very thin white surface skin to the vessel core immediately under the glazed areas (Brooks 1987; Jennings 1992). Date range fourteenth – sixteenth centuries.

10. Regional Imports. A general category for unidentified, non-local, English medieval vessels. Their relatively small numbers may reflect the strength and quality of the local potting industries in the Vale of Pickering and, of course, in Scarborough itself.

11. Post-Medieval Orangewares. A generic name for a range of very finely sand-tempered, slightly powdery, bright orange to pale buff coloured fabrics. Glazes are usually soft olive and apple greens, often very finely pockmarked. A wide range of vessels forms have been recognised in this fabric type, the more common of which are jugs and jars, bowls, pancheons and dishes. Date range sixteenth – seventeenth centuries.

12. Post-Medieval Sandywares. Largely, contemporary and of similar vessel range to 11 above, these fabrics, as their name suggests, have a heavier, and far more easily visible sand content. Glazes are usually brighter and thicker than those of Fabric 11. Although specific kiln sources have yet to be identified, both Fabrics 11 and 12 are widely distributed across the North and East Ridings (Hayfield 1985). Date range sixteenth – seventeenth centuries.

Other fabrics occurring in small numbers included Humberwares (Hayfield and Grieg 1990; Hayfield 1992), and Smooth Humberwares (Hayfield 1985). All imported vessel types are defined and illustrated elsewhere (Hurst, Neal and Van Beuningen 1986).

Analysis

The pottery assemblage divides between that recovered from around the hall site, and that from the kitchen. The analysis that follows is based on identified vessel numbers. The two sites produced a total of 2,776 identified pottery vessels, 2,059 from the hall, and 717 from the kitchen.

Of the hall vessels 52.0% were unstratified, and a further 19.6% from demolition deposits, leaving only 28.3% from phased contexts. The picture from the kitchen site was better, with only 22.9 % from unstratified contexts and a further 33.6% from demolition, leaving 41.6 % from phased contexts.

Table 1. Distribution of vessels by phase from the Hall Site

Phase:	One Const.	One Occup.	Two A	Two B
Service Room 1	-	4	13	32
Service Passage	-	-	12	3
Service Room 2	-	-	39	85
Cross Passage	-	-	-	20
Hall	-	-	-	7
Outside Hall South	3	-	-	-
Outside Hall East	-	-	-	366
Totals	3	4	64	513

	Demolition
Service Area	51
Cross Passage	-
Hall	27
Dais	3
Outside Hall East	11
Outside Hall West	220
General	-
Totals	404

Table 1 shows how the 584 stratified vessels and the 404 from demolition contexts were distributed across the hall site.

Table 2. Distribution of the main pottery forms by vessel number from the Hall

Phase One Construction

Form	External/South
Jug	3

Phase One Occupation

Form	Service Room 1
Jug	1
Aquamanile	2
Cooking-Pot	1

Phase Two A Occupation

Form	Service Room 1	Service Passage	Service Room 2
Jug	10	11	32
Aquamanile	1	1	-
Cooking-Pot	2	-	7

Phase Two B Occupation

Form	Service Room 1	Service Passage	Service Room 2	Cross Passage	Hall	External/East
Jug	22	2	72	18	3	337
Aquamanile			1	1		
Cooking-Pot	6		7	1	4	28
Bowl	1	1				
Basting Dish	1					
Pipkin			1			1
Mug	2		2			
Unidentified			2			

Demolition

Form	Service Wing	Hall	Dais	External/East	External/West
Jug	40	25	2	7	198
Aquamanile					1
Cooking-Pot	7		1	3	7
Basting-Dish					1
Pipkin	3	2		1	8
Mug	1				3
Skillet					1
Unidentified					1

The jug form dominated the hall assemblage, geographically and chronologically, although from the thirteenth century onwards that proves true of most medieval domestic assemblages from the region (Hayfield 1988). Although aquamaniles are not unexpected on a high status site such as this, all but one example (and that residual in demolition deposits) occurred from either the cross-passage or from the service wing of the building.

Table 3. Distribution of the main pottery forms by vessel number from the Kitchen Site

Phase	Jug	Aquam	Cook-Pot	Bowl	Pipkin	B/Dish	Cup	Other
1 Construct	7	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
1 Occupation	95	-	29	-	1	-	-	1
2 Construct	32	-	2	-	-	1	-	-
2 Occupation	105	2	13	1	2	-	3	2
Demolition	202	-	40	4	7	-	1	1
Unstratified	1	-	16	3	5	-	2	1

Table 3 shows that jug forms predominated across all phases of the kitchen, followed by cooking-pots. Pipkins and basting dishes all showed traces of burning and sooting, and are vessel forms directly associated with food preparation. Cooking-pots are a more ubiquitous vessel form, and although many were also burnt and sooted, the principal cooking vessels used in a kitchen block servicing a major hall such as this were more likely to have been made of metal.



Fig. 24. Stone (1-3) and ceramic (4-5) roof tile

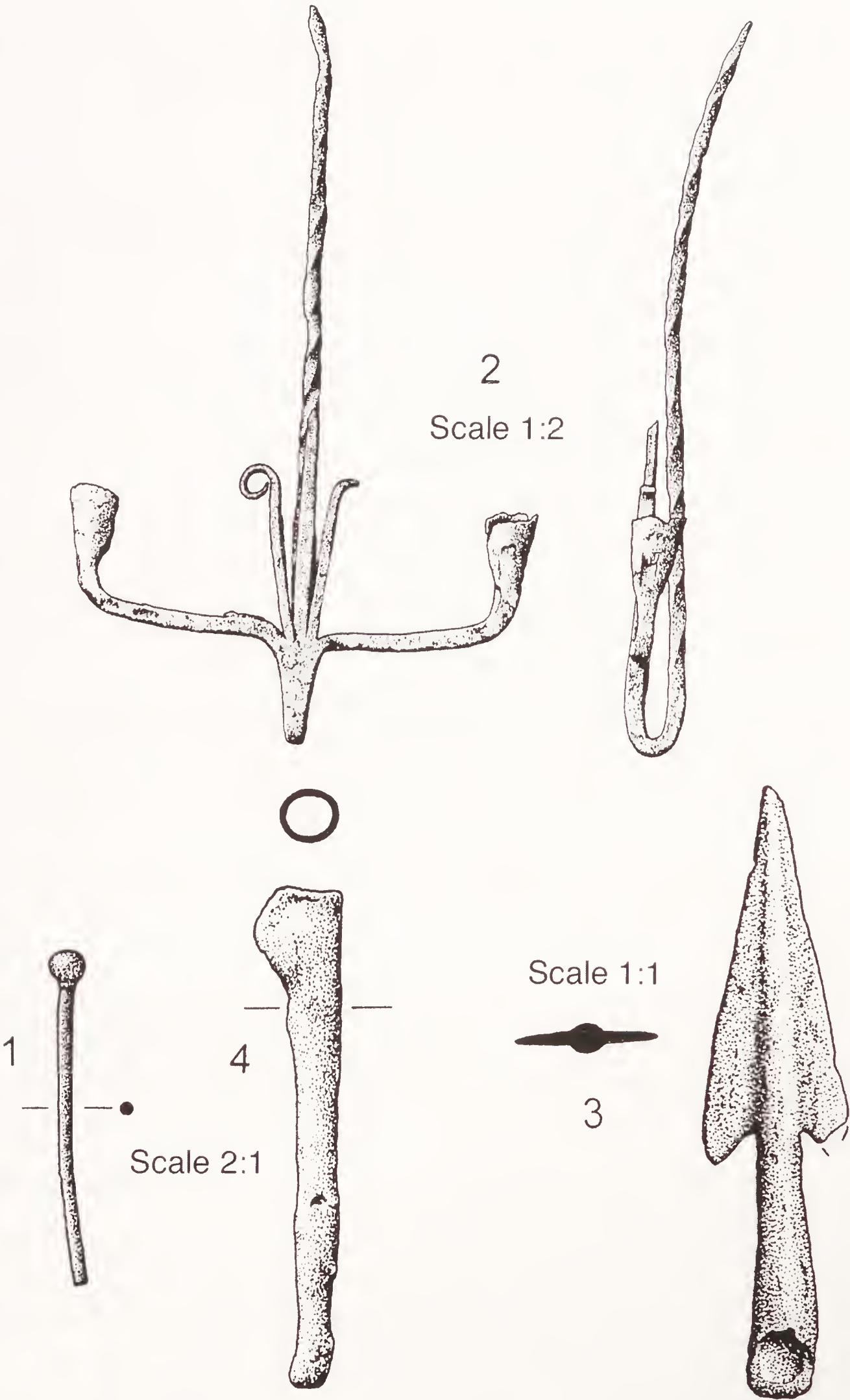


Fig. 25. Small finds

ROOF TILE (Fig. 24)

The bulk of the roofing materials recovered from these excavations, including the illustrated material on Figure 24, came from an area to the north-east of the kitchen block and comprised both ceramic and stone tiles.

Of the stone tiles, Professor Paul Buckland of the University of Bournemouth comments:

‘The rock is an off-white flaggy, detrital limestone, partly cemented by the tubes of *Serpula* sp. None of the fragments of bivalve are sufficiently preserved to allow identification to the species level and therefore assignment to a particular horizon is difficult, but an origin in the Middle or Upper Jurassic succession in the immediate hinterland of Scarborough is evident.’

The more complete limestone tiles varied from one at 15 cm wide and 37.5 cm high, weighing 2.25 kg, to more numerous examples that were slightly smaller, for example 13 x 25 cm, weighing 1.715 kg; 14 x 23 cm, weighing 1.35 kg, or 16 x 23.5 cm, weighing 1.46 kg. Several examples are illustrated on Figure 24 (nos. 1-3). All have a single nail hole at the top. Given the weight of these tiles, they must have necessitated a fairly robust roof structure.

No complete ceramic tiles were recovered, although their widths varied from 20 – 21 cm. Most were in the same soft to hard, orange or orange-red, slightly micaceous fabric, very similar to the Scarborough jug fabrics, and possibly produced from the same local clay sources. All had a single, central pulled lug to suspend them from the rafters (Fig. 24, nos. 4-5). A smaller number of tiles occurred in a harder, more sandy fabric with slightly rougher textured surfaces. These tiles had a single, central nail-hole punched through the top.

Both types of ceramic tiles and the limestone tiles occurred principally from the same unstratified and disturbed levels around the outside of the kitchen. It seems likely that they had at one stage been used on the building, but the mixture of types (and probably ages) suggest that they had been used for a fairly makeshift re-roofing, and had originally come from other buildings, perhaps the stone ones from the hall itself.

SMALL FINDS (Fig. 25)

The excavation finds books recorded a range of metal objects and other small finds, much of which is now missing. The bulk of the surviving material was unstratified, principally iron, and most of that described as ‘nails’. The few objects illustrated were the most intrinsically interesting of these survivals.

The Hall Site

1. Cu alloy pin. Applied, rounded, head 3 mm wide. Survives to 40 mm long. (Service Wing, unstratified) [scale 2:1]

2. Iron candle holder, surviving to a height of 25 cm. Double arm with candle sockets 16 cm apart, central spike (top missing), with two curled-topped ‘leaves’ either side. Main ‘arm’ twisted (intentionally), and bent back (rather too sharply?). (Dais Area, unstratified) [scale 1:2]

3. Iron crossbow arrow, 7.5 cm long and 1.8 cm wide at tangs. (H2, outside west wall, unstratified) [scale 1:1]

Kitchen

4. Copper-alloy needle case, 60 mm long and, at top, 8 mm diameter. Rounded end. Folded over with visible seam. (M4). [scale 1:1]

ANIMAL BONE *by* Jaco Weinstock

Material And Methods

All animal bone remains were collected by hand, with the consequent loss of most of the smaller bones of the larger species and most bones of small species (e.g. birds and fish). The archaeological contexts were categorised by the excavator as stratified, semi-stratified (probably disturbed by nineteenth-century excavations), and unstratified. The unstratified faunal material was not recorded, although it was scanned for possible uncommon finds.

Due to the nature of the site and the nature and survival of the archaeological record, a very simplistic phasing was adopted for both the Hall and the Kitchen which is described in sections 2 and 3 above and summarised below. However, it must be stressed that no correlation should be made between the phases in the different parts of the site.

Hall	Kitchen
Phase 1	Phase 1
Primary construction (? 1157/8 - 1168/69) and use of building	Primary construction and use of building (13 th century)
Phase 2 A + B	Phase 2
Modifications, probably associated with Henry III recorded works (1223-7); further modifications, probably later 13 th century	Alterations to the building (13 th - 14 th) and use until abandonment (15 th century)

All of the fragments recovered were, wherever possible, identified to skeletal element and taxon – with the exception of ribs and vertebrae caudal to the second cervical (axis), which were assigned to one of three size-classes: large (cattle/horse), medium (ovicaprids/pig/dog), and small (leporids/cat/fox). Similarly, the identification of ribs and phalanges of birds was not attempted. If two or more fragments were distinguished as being derived from the same bone, they were recorded as one specimen. The number of identified specimens (NISP) served as the basic unit in counts.

Among the ovicaprids, only sheep was positively identified. Thus, while it is possible that bones of goats are present in the ‘sheep/goat’ category, ovicaprid bones are collectively referred to in this report as ‘sheep’. An attempt was made to separate chicken and pheasant through their tarsometatarsi: spurred specimens lacking the posterior continuous keel are commonly regarded as being characteristic for chicken (e.g. Albarella and Davis 1996). Additionally, the morphological criteria described by MacDonald (1992) were used to try and detect the presence of the Guinea Fowl (*Numida meleagris*). However, only *Gallus* was positively identified and thus all galliforms are collectively regarded as chicken. All bones of geese belonged to one of the larger species (*Anser*); they belong very probably to the domestic goose but, given the morphological similarities between the domestic and the wild form, the graylag goose, the presence of the latter cannot be ruled out.

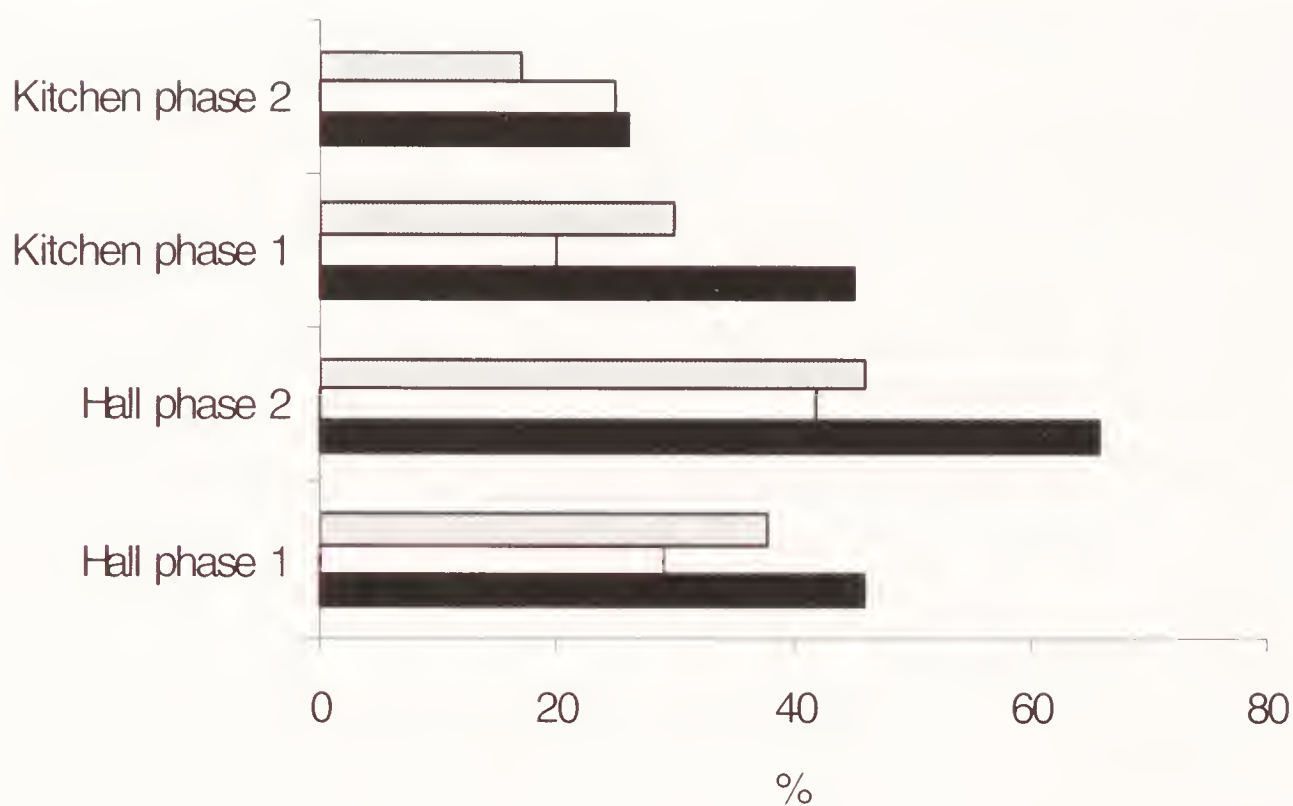


Fig. 26. Relative abundance of the major domestic species in the Hall (H) and Kitchen (K) (calculation based on NISP).

Due to its small size, most aspects of the faunal assemblage can only be discussed in a very general manner, and then, only through the 'lumping' of the material of Hall and Kitchen and without regard for the phasing. A couple of exceptions were made when it was felt that observed differences between parts of the site/periods had a real background.

Measurements were carried out following von den Driesch (1976), but additional metrical data were recorded whenever possible, e.g. distal depth of humerus, proximal depth of radius (for definition of these parameters see Weinstock, 1997). The dental eruption and wear of the few teeth and mandible of cattle, sheep, and pig were recorded following the method of Grant (1982).

Results

Species representation

The combined faunal assemblages of the Hall and Kitchen comprise 731 identified specimens, and include mammals, birds, and fish (Tables 4 and 5). Mammals are the most abundant class in both locations; the great majority belonging to the three major domestic species: cattle, pig, and sheep in that order (except for phase 2 in the Kitchen, where sheep are as abundant as cattle; Figure 26). Horse, dog, and cat are represented only by a handful of fragments. The abundance of wild mammals is c. 8% though it varies (4.1% to 9.6%) according to location and phase. The species present are hare, red, fallow and roe deer, and white-beaked dolphin, which is represented by fragments from a maxilla and a pre-maxilla belonging to the same individual (Tables 4 and 5). The identification of the dolphin remains was based on the size, shape, and spacing of the tooth sockets as well as the general robustness of the bone; the fragments were also compared with other species of dolphin from British waters – the common dolphin, the bottlenose dolphin and the striped dolphin, but these did not match the specimen from Scarborough.

In the site as a whole (i.e. Hall + Kitchen), birds represent c. 22% of the assemblage. In the two phases of the Hall and in phase 2 of the Kitchen they

comprise between 12%-17% of the identified specimens (but see 'discussion' below); in phase 1 of the Kitchen, however, they reach 42%. A possible explanation for this high abundance is suggested by the anatomical representation (see below). Domestic fowl and goose make up *c.* 90% of the bird remains. For such a small assemblage, the variety of species of wild birds is considerable: duck, swan, bittern, goshawk, crane, pigeon, partridge, plover, lapwing, woodcock, and thrush/starling. In addition, red kite and jackdaw were present in unstratified contexts.

Due to the recovery method used, it is not surprising that fish are almost exclusively represented by remains of larger gadids (cod, haddock, pollack). Other species – e.g. conger eel, flatfish, salmonids, and catfish – are represented by one or few fragments. In addition to the finds listed in Tables 4 and 5, a dermal denticle of thornback ray (*Raja clavata*) was recovered from an unstratified context in the Kitchen.

Preservation, gnawing, and butchery marks

The bones were generally very well preserved; their surface does not show modifications due to the effects of weathering or rootlet etching. Thus the presence of gnawing and butchery marks on the bones is clearly visible.

While dog remains are scarce in the assemblage, it is clear from the proportion of bones gnawed by dogs (21% of the identified specimens of mammal + birds) that they were an important factor in its formation. Gnawed bones seem to be somewhat more abundant in the hall than in the kitchen. Although the samples are small, this may indicate that the taphonomic histories of the assemblages in both areas are somewhat different, with dogs having less access to the bones in the latter.

Butchery marks were recorded in cattle, sheep, and pig in frequencies under 20%; *c.* 5% of domestic fowl bones show cut marks. Cut marks were also present in a proximal fragment of a dog's femur. From their location – just below the caput – it can be inferred that they were made during the disarticulation of the hind limb from the pelvis. Butchery marks on dog bones, as opposed to skinning marks – have been reported from other medieval sites such as Castle Mall, Norwich (Albarella *et al.* 1997), West Cotton, Northants. (Albarella and Davis, 1994), Lincoln (Dobney *et al.* 1995), and Heigham Street, Norwich (Weinstock, *in press*). More unusual is the chopping/slicing off the lateral epicondyle of a cat's humerus. This mark follows a proximal-distal – rather than dorso-palmar – trajectory, and therefore is probably an indication of 'careless' skinning rather than a result of the separation of upper from lower leg. Also worth mentioning are cut marks on a proximal fragment of a bittern's tarsometatarsus.

In addition, vertebrae of large and medium sized mammals were occasionally split ventrally, indicating that carcasses were sometimes being halved down the backbone.

Anatomical representation

The small size of the assemblage does not warrant a detailed evaluation of the skeletal representation of most species. The major domestic species – cattle, sheep, and pig – are represented by all skeletal elements, which indicates that at least some animals were butchered at the site. In the case of cattle – for which material is somewhat more abundant – meat-bearing regions of the body seem to be better represented than head and feet.

While red deer bones are not numerous, the skeletal representation is interesting and probably not a product of chance. It is dominated by bones of the hind limb, mostly tibia and tarsals. This pattern has also been identified for fallow and/or red deer in other castle sites, such as Barnard Castle Durham (Jones *et al.* 1985), Sandal Castle, West Yorkshire (Griffith *et al.* 1983), Okehampton, Devon (Maltby 1982), Prudhoe, Northumberland (Davis 1987), and Launceston, Cornwall (Albarella and Davis 1996).

The anatomical representation of domestic fowl is also clearly biased towards the lower part of legs, as reflected by the overrepresentation of tarsometatarsi. Significantly, most of these bones were found in the Kitchen in 2 contexts in area M4 belonging to its first phase. No such overrepresentation of tarsometatarsi was observed in goose.

Fish were represented mainly by vertebrae. An exception is the haddock, where ten cleithra are present and only one vertebra. This, however, is probably due to the recovery methods, since the vertebrae of this species are much smaller than those of other species present.

Ageing and sexing

The ageing evidence for mammals, both in the form of mandibles/teeth as well as of epiphysial fusion, is very scant, even when the data for all of the periods and parts of the site are pooled together. Nevertheless, it seems to indicate that not many cattle and sheep were killed very young (i.e. as juveniles), although many – in cattle probably most – were slaughtered before reaching maturity. Generally, pigs seem to have been killed when juvenile, i.e. younger than cattle and sheep. While the evidence for sex ratios in pig is scant, it does seem to indicate that many more male than female pigs were present at the site.

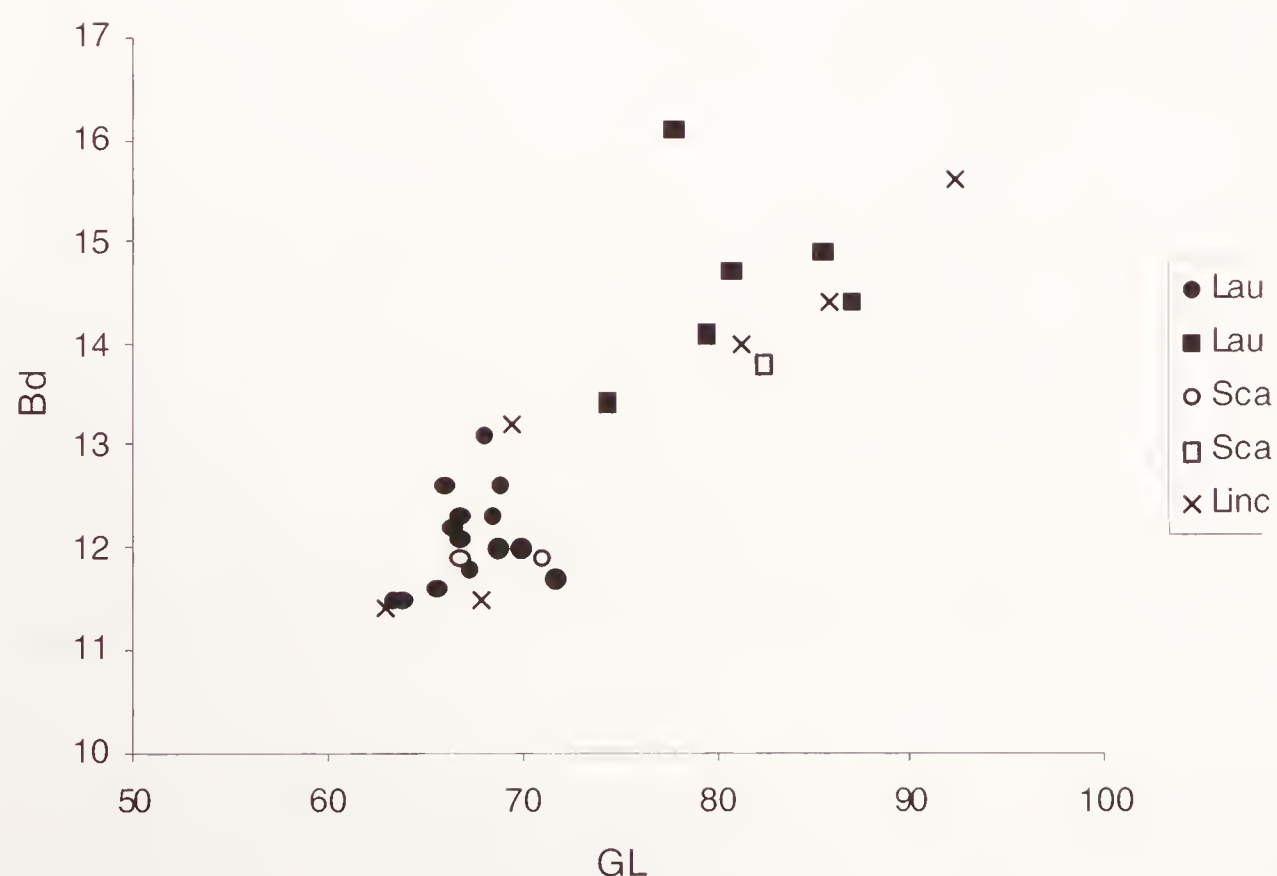


Fig. 27. Domestic fowl tarsometatarsi from Scarborough in comparison with contemporary sites (data for Launceston and Lincoln after Albarella and Davis 1986 and Dobney *et al.* 1995 respectively).

Among domestic fowl specimens, 75% are those of adults and the remaining 25% are juveniles. Hens are more abundant than cockerels by a ratio of *c.* 2.5:1 (as calculated from 20 tibiotarsi).

Discussion

The bone assemblage from Scarborough Castle represents mainly 'kitchen refuse' – that is, bone discarded during food preparation and after meals – rather than primary butchery refuse or industrial/handicraft activities. This is indicated by the skeletal representation of the principal mammal species, especially cattle, which are dominated by meat-bearing parts. An interesting occurrence is the clear over-representation of tarsometatarsi among the domestic-fowl bones recovered from deposits belonging to phase 1 in the kitchen. These remains are to be interpreted as refuse discarded during the preparation of the fowl for consumption. A similar occurrence was observed in the late medieval deposits of the Great Kitchen at the Benedictine abbey of Eynsham (Ayers *et al.*, 2003).

The material at our disposal indicates that beef was eaten in larger quantities than both lamb and pork. Birds – mainly chicken and goose – and marine fish played a subordinate but definitely not unimportant role in the diet. In fact, since hand-collection consistently results in the under-representation of these classes, the quantity of birds and fish eaten was probably much higher than implied by their proportion in the assemblage.

The material is far too scant to establish with some certainty whether most domestic animals were bred at the site or whether they were imported. Nevertheless, the observed sex ratio of pig is interesting in this context. Ideally, in sites where pigs are bred – i.e. 'producer sites' – the sex ratio should be biased in the favour of females, since these are required for breeding in larger numbers than males. By contrast, where pigs are mainly imported the sex ratio will be dominated by males (these being mostly the surplus animals not required for breeding). If the observed over-representation of males at Scarborough (*c.* 5:1 for mandibles + loose canines; 3:1 for mandibles only) is a true reflection of the actual sex ratio of the pigs consumed at the site rather than a product of small sample size, this would suggest that pigs were not bred at Scarborough castle, i.e. that, at least concerning this species, the site was a 'consumer' rather than a 'producer'.

The presence and proportional representation of species confirm the high socio-economic status expected for Scarborough Castle. Except for period 2 in the kitchen – which belongs to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century – pigs represent more than 30% of the economically important domestic mammals. It has been noticed that in the medieval period their frequencies in castles tend to be higher than 20%, although their numbers decline by the late medieval and post-medieval periods. In contrast, villages and towns tend to show lower frequencies (Albarella and Davis 1996; Albarella *et al.* 1997).

High status is also implied by the relatively common remains of deer, the skeletal representation of which – mostly bones of the lower rear leg – seems to suggest the import of haunches of this rather than the slaughter of whole animals at the site (Grant, 1988; Albarella and Davis 1996). The presence of a variety of other wild mammals is also in agreement with what would be expected for a royal castle. The remains of the white-beaked dolphin are particu-

Table 4: Identified faunal remains from the Hall

HALL					
Species	Phase One	Phase Two	Demolition	Prehistoric	TOTAL
Mammals					
Cattle	46	66	1	8	121
Sheep	8	12	-	2	22
Sheep/goat	21	30	-	1	52
Pig	38	46	-	1	85
Horse	-	1	-	-	1
Dog	-	4	-	2	6
Cat	-	1	-	-	1
Hare (<i>Lepus</i> sp.)	2	2	-	1	5
Red deer (<i>Cervus elaphus</i>)	5*	12*	-	-	17
Red/Fallow deer (<i>Cervus/Dama</i>)	1	-	-	-	1
Roe deer (<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>)	1	2	-	-	3
deer indeterminate (<i>Cervidae</i> indet.)	-	1	-	-	1
Total identified mammals	122 (77%)	177 (80%)	1	15	315
Birds					
Domestic fowl	12	21	-	-	33
Goose	5	6	-	-	11
Duck (<i>Anas</i> sp.)	-	1	-	-	1
Goshawk (<i>Accipiter gentilis</i>)	1	-	-	-	1
Crane (<i>Grus grus</i>)	-	1	-	-	1
Wood pigeon (<i>Columba palumbus</i>)	1	-	-	-	1
Golden/grey plover (<i>Pluvialis apricaria</i> / <i>P. squatarola</i>)	-	2	-	-	2
Total identified birds	19 (12%)	31 (14%)	-	-	50
Fish					
Conger eel (<i>Conger conger</i>)	-	1	-	-	1
Cod (<i>Gadus morhua</i>)	5	5	-	-	10
Haddock (<i>Melanogrammus aeglefinus</i>)	9	3	-	-	12
Ling (<i>Molva molva</i>)	3	2	-	-	5
Gadidae indet.	-	1	-	-	1
Catfish (<i>Anarhicas lupus</i>)	-	-	-	-	0
Total identified fish	17 (11%)	13 (6%)	-	-	30
TOTAL IDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS	158	221	1	15	395

* includes one fragment of antler

Table 5: Identified faunal remains from the Kitchen

KITCHEN				
Species	Phase 1	Phase 2	Demolition	TOTAL
Mammals				
Cattle	45	26	5	76
Sheep	9	7	-	16
Sheep/goat	11	18	1	30
Pig	30	17	6	53
Horse	1	1	1	3
Cat	-	1	-	1
Hare (Lepus sp.)	7	-	3	10
Red deer (Cervus elaphus)	2	2	-	4
Fallow deer (Dama dama)	-	-	1	1
White-beaked dolphin (Tursiops truncatus)	-	1	-	1
Total identified mammals	105 (53.5%)	73 (65%)	17	195
Birds				
Domestic fowl	45	9	3	57
Goose	27	7	1	35
Duck (Anas sp.)	2	-	-	2
Anatidae indeterminate	-	-	1	1
Swan (Cygnus olor)	1	-	-	1
Bittern (Botaurus stellaris)	1	1	-	2
Partridge (Perdix perdix)	1	-	-	1
Crane (Grus grus)	2	-	-	2
Golden plover (Pluvialis apricaria)	1	-	-	1
Golden/grey plover (Pluvialis apricaria/ P. squatarola)	-	1	-	1
Lapwing (Vanellus vanellus)	-	1	-	1
Woodcock (Scolopax rusticola)	1	-	-	1
Thrush/Starling (Turdus/Sturnus)	1	-	1	2
Total identified birds	82 (42%)	19 (17%)	6	107
Fish				
Salmonidae indeterminate	-	1	-	1
Conger eel (Conger conger)	-	1	1	2
Whiting (Merlangius merlangus)	-	-	1	1
Pollack (Pollachius pollachius)	-	1	-	1
Cod (Gadus morhua)	3	4	1	8
Haddock (Melanogrammus aeglefinus)	5	6	-	11
Ling (Molva molva)	-	6	-	6
Gadidae indeterminate	-	2	-	2
flatfish indeterminate	1	-	-	1
Total identified fish	9 (4.5%)	21 (18%)	3	33
TOTAL IDENTIFIED FRAGMENTS	196	113	27	336

larly telling. It is clear from the historical sources that, at least from the early eleventh century, cetaceans were a high-status food, and their remains have been discovered mainly in high-status sites (for a detailed discussion see Gardiner, 1997; Sabin *et al.* 1999). It is highly likely that the dolphin bone fragment from Scarborough came from a stranded individual, as were probably most of the cetacean remains in the medieval period (Gardiner 1997). The king and nobility had the rights to all stranded cetaceans. Stranding episodes must have been relatively rare, and consequently, the contribution of cetacean meat to the diet was insignificant. However, the possession and consumption of cetacean meat carried a high symbolic value in social status and relations (Gardiner 1997).

Among birds, the presence of bittern is worth a mention. Bones of this species are not common in Britain in any period. Curiously, while a number of remains have been found in Romano-British, Saxon, and post-medieval deposits (e.g. Crabtree, n.d. a.; n.d. b; Eastham 1976; Locker *pers. comm.*; O'Connor *pers. comm.*), and notwithstanding its mention in contemporary documents, no confirmed records of bittern from high and late Medieval times have been reported. In 1378 the price for a bittern was 18*d* (e.g. around three times that of a small pig), the same as for a heron but considerably more than a pheasant (13*d*), plover, woodcock, and teal (2½*d* each) (Hammond 1993). The high value assigned to bittern and other species of wild birds – such as crane, woodcock, pigeon, partridge, swan (all present in Scarborough), curlew, and quail – is also reflected in their having being served at the enthronement feast of George Neville, Archbishop of York in September 1465.

The proximal femur of goshawk probably represents the remains of a bird used for hawking (or 'falconry'), a sport restricted to the medieval nobility. Since the prey of these raptors included, besides rabbit and hares, a not negligible proportion of wild birds (Cummins 1988; Prummel 1997), it is possible that at least some of the remains of wild birds in Scarborough – woodcock, partridge, plover, pigeon and even crane – are a product of this activity. Of course, wild birds and small mammals could have also been caught by other methods practised in medieval times, such as snares, traps and nets (Prummel 1997).

The age of most cattle, mostly immature, indicates that the animals consumed were slaughtered before having contributed other type of products (e.g. traction power, milk); this, again, is suggestive of a high socio-economic status.

Interestingly, cut marks were found in some dog bones, indicating that dog meat was occasionally used. Given the clear high socio-economic status of the castle, it would seem plausible to conclude that it was used for feeding other animals rather than for human consumption.

DISCUSSION

HISTORICAL EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

The surviving documentation for Scarborough Castle has yet to be intensively researched; however, the most interesting of the published documents are those that contain detailed contemporary surveys of the castle, usually in terms of repairs and building materials. Accounts of expenditure also provide an indication of likely periods of major rebuilding or refurbishing. The bulk of these documents are outlined, or at least referenced in the *History of the King's Works* (Colvin 1963). Further sources are contained in the account of the castle

in the *Victoria County History* (1923, 538-49), although these are largely concerned with establishing the political and military history of the castle.

The following extracts are from the principal relevant surveys:

- a. 1260, 20th May, Survey of the state of Scarborough Castle (44 Henry III)
 ‘..... that the great hall and great chamber with wardrobe, in many places uncovered, and want great repair, the kitchen and passage [*tresoncia*] are nearly uncovered.’ (*Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* i, 252)
- b. 1278, C 145/114(10); C145/36 (29), *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* i, no. 435.
 ‘The roofs of the great hall and of the queen’s chamber were both in a bad state, and the other buildings were in urgent need of repair.’ (Colvin 1963, 831).
- c. 1361 *Cal. of Close Rolls* 1360-64, p. 454; *Cal. of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* 183 (1).
 ‘A kitchen called ‘Kyngeskychyn’ with a small larder belonging, served both a hall called ‘Kyngeshalle’ which formerly stood there, and the great chamber called ‘Qweneschambre’. The tiled roof had long been stripped off, so that the walls were decayed and threatened to fall down. As it could not be well dispensed with, because there was no other kitchen in the castle except in the great tower, he repaired the walls and timbers at a cost of £6, including purchase of timber, tiles and lime.’
 ‘A hall called ‘Kyngeshalle’, said to have been roofed with tiles, used to stand by the ‘Qweneschambre’, but has long been entirely in ruins except that parts of the wall are standing, and the timber is so destroyed that nothing remains; it can only be repaired by complete rebuilding, which would cost £40.’
- d. 1538 Survey of the Castle
 ‘Item, besides the said tower towards the east is a large plain called the Castle Garth containing in length 304 yards, in breadth 240 yards.’
 ‘And within the same garth is a pretty chapel of our Lady and covered with lead. And besides the same chapel is a fair well.’
 ‘Item there is in the said castle neither bakehouse, brewhouse nor horse mill nor anything there belonging.’ (Rowntree 1931, 164)

These brief extracts provide the available historical context for the hall excavations. The first and most immediate question is to identify the excavated hall within this historical record. The most likely context is the building campaigns of Henry II at Scarborough between 1157 and 1169, in which substantial elements of the castle were constructed (Colvin 1964, 830). This building work supplemented or replaced that of William, Count of Aumale who, according to William of Newburgh, had built a curtain wall and a tower overlooking the narrow neck of land connecting the headland (Castle Garth) with the town (*ibid*, 829-30; Rowntree 1931, 142).

As the excavated hall was a large and substantial building set prominently within the headland, it is likely to be the ‘great hall’ mentioned in 1260, particularly as the historical record points to the association of the ‘great chamber’ with the later ‘Queens Chamber’ and later still ‘Mosedale Hall’. The same 1260 survey also describes an associated kitchen and ‘tresonce’ which, like the hall,

were in a state of disrepair. By 1278 the hall and its associated buildings still remained in a bad state, but with the prospect of repair.

It would seem reasonable to equate the 'great hall' of 1260 with the 'Kyngeshall' mentioned in 1361, because the associated 'Kyngeskychen' and its small larder, once again in a ruinous state, needed to be repaired because it was the only kitchen serving the outer bailey. Interestingly it notes that the tiled roof to the kitchen had 'long since' been stripped off. A further implication of this survey, is that although ruinous, certain parts of the hall walls still stood in 1361.

By the sixteenth century all trace (and possibly all memory) of the hall and kitchen appears to have disappeared.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION AND DISCUSSION

The Phase One hall was a large, aisled structure with roughly shaped freestone walls and sandstone chamfered ashlar. It had a simple, open layout with a clay or flagstone floor set in a crushed sandstone bedding, and an open clay-based hearth towards the southern end (Fig. 28, Phase One). There are indications that the internal walls were plastered. There were two opposed entrances towards the northern part of both east and west walls providing a cross-passage. There was probably a stone tile roof, examples of which have been illustrated above (Fig. 24, nos. 1-3). This was then, a large open hall with no evidence for any specific form of residential accommodation, and may have been principally an administrative or judicial building.

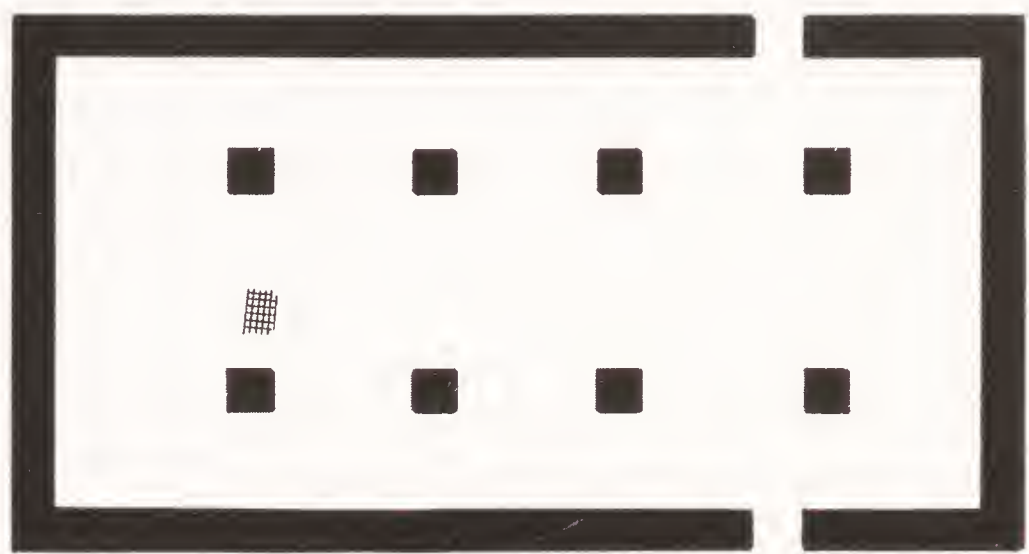
The decorative stonework illustrated on Figures 3 and 15 is described as Romanesque work that would be appropriate to the mid twelfth century (Rita Wood *pers. comm.*). It is assumed that these three stones derived from the Phase One Hall. This date range is corroborated by the pottery recovered from the Phase One construction and occupation of the hall. These were small groups of material, but the exclusive use of Scarborough III vessels and the splashed glazed jugs in the Early Medieval Sandy Ware would be appropriate to a mid twelfth-century date.

The two principal modifications of the Phase Two hall, the insertion of a dais in the southern end and the re-building of the northern bay to form a service wing, are shown together in Figure 28, Phase Two A, but there was no archaeological evidence to indicate whether or not they were contemporary events. Later still, the rooms of the service wing were further modified, and porches added to the external cross passage doors (Fig. 28, Phase Two B)

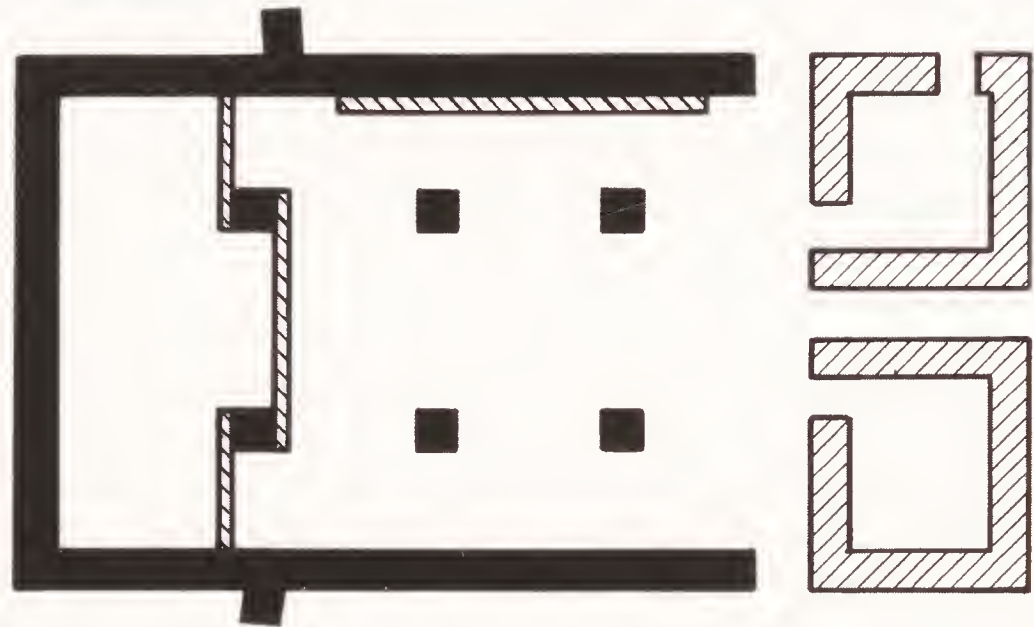
The service wing, with its associated pottery, suggests that whatever the original function of the hall, its uses now included feasting. It would perhaps be in this same context that the Phase 1 kitchen was constructed. Despite the difference in alignment between the hall and the kitchen, the link between the need for a service wing and a kitchen seems compelling. Although there were no surviving stratigraphic links, there are also some similarities in the pottery between the Phase Two occupation of the service wing, and the Phase 1 construction and occupation of the kitchen. The documents above suggest that the kitchen, and its associated 'tresonce' had not only been constructed by 1260 but they were already in a state of disrepair. A construction date in the first half of the thirteenth century for both the service wing and the Phase 1 kitchen would therefore seem, on available evidence, a credible suggestion.

A century later, by 1361, the hall is described as having 'formerly stood', al-

Phase One



Phase Two A



Phase Two B

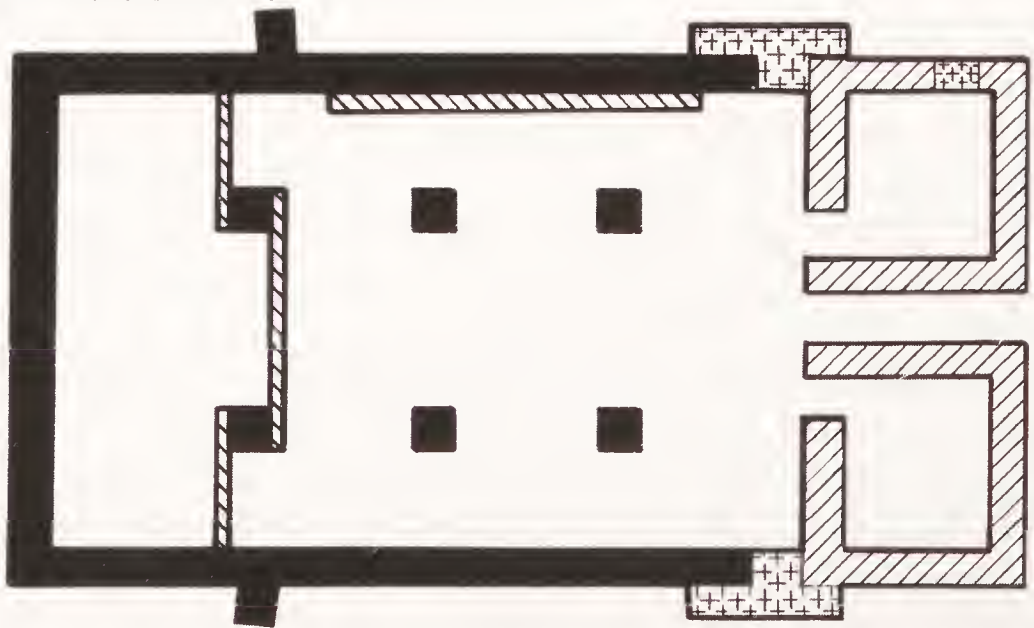


Fig. 28. Phase plans of Hall

though the kitchen survived, albeit with its walls in decay and its roof missing. The kitchen was repaired because there was no other kitchen in the Castle Garth, and presumably it was still needed to serve the Queens Chamber (later Mosdale Hall).

The same document says that the hall was 'entirely in ruins except that parts of the wall are standing'. Given that, on excavation, large parts of the walls of the service wing were still standing over a meter in height, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the parts recognised as still standing in 1361 were those of the service wing. Supporting this, the later medieval pottery from the Phase Two occupation was almost entirely restricted to the service wing. It raises the interesting possibility that this northern bay of the hall may have remained in use, perhaps now serving as part of the surviving kitchen structures, even though the bulk of the hall was by then ruinous.

It has already been observed in discussing the kitchen pottery, how the Phase 2 kitchen may have extended for over 100 years from the late thirteenth century to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Clearly repair work was put in hand to its walls and its roof in 1361, although it has not been possible to positively identify this phase of work from excavation. The need perhaps was simply to ensure that the structure could continue to function as a kitchen. How long it did so is unclear, as the Phase 2 kiln structures, have more of the appearance of bases for malting kilns, perhaps for a brewhouse, than kitchen ovens.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREAT HALL *by Glyn Coppack*

Henry II's rebuilding of Scarborough Castle between 1157/8 and 1168/9 (Colvin 1963, 830) provided three separate suites of accommodation: the hall and chambers in the great tower or keep, a hall with a kitchen and presumably chambers in the Inner Bailey, and a hall, kitchen and chambers in the Outer Bailey. Each suite was progressively more spacious. The topography of the site, where unusually the Outer Bailey lay beyond the Inner Bailey, allowed for the placing of major buildings in an area more generally reserved for service ranges as the extensive Outer Bailey was in fact more secure than the keep yard from which it was entered, and space permitted building on an unrestricted scale, more comparable to the King's houses than his castles, although the building of a great hall in the Outer Bailey is not unknown, occurring for instance at Windsor, Chester and Winchester.

The great hall at Scarborough can be confidently dated in its primary phase to Henry II's building campaign on the basis of recovered architectural detail (Figs. 3 and 15). It was in a poor state of repair in 1278 (Cal. Inq. Misc. III, No. 435) and had been demolished before 1361 (Cal. Close R. 1360-64, 454), providing a timescale for the sequence of events recovered from excavation. Not only is the keep at Scarborough one of the first to be built by Henry II, the great hall is also one of his earliest halls.

The original hall was a ground floor aisled hall of five bays measuring 23.14 m (76 ft) by 14.2 m (47 ft) internally, built of limestone with an outer casing of finely cut sandstone that survives as a chamfered plinth course at the south end of the building. In scale it compares well with contemporary halls:

Site	No of bays	length (ft)	width (ft)	date
Bishop Auckland	4	85	45	1153-95
Clarendon	4	82	52	1181-3
Devizes	6	75	38	twelfth C.
Farnham	?	66	44	c. 1150
Hereford	5	69	c.48	c. 1160
Leicester	6	76	51	c. 1150
Oakham	4	66	44	c. 1190
Windsor	?	72	46	1165-71

Belonging to the primary phase (Fig. 28, Phase One) are the outer walls of the four southern bays with the damaged southern jamb of the door in the second bay from the north of the west wall, the footings for the arcade post bases, and the one surviving base in the southernmost bay. The arcade posts were of timber, 0.53 m (21 ins) east-west, and 0.49 m (19 ins) north-south, and the form of the framing could easily have followed the fragmentary evidence of Farnham, Hereford (Jones and Smith 1960, 69-80) and Leicester (*ibid*, 76). The clay floor with its evidence of an open hearth placed centrally between the aisle posts of the first and second bays from the south is also likely to be associated with the first phase of the building. The northern bay of the hall is a later rebuilding but, as excavation below its floors failed to demonstrate otherwise, it almost certainly follows the outline, if not the actual detailing, of the original hall. Generally speaking, the hall as originally built conforms to the accepted late twelfth-century plan, with opposed doors at the lower end, no divided service rooms, and a centrally placed hearth at the upper end. There was apparently no dais. The hall stood alone, for there is no evidence to show that the kitchen was built at the same period, and no surface evidence to suggest that there was an associated chamber-block, and it must be assumed that it served an administrative rather than a social purpose when it was originally built, particularly when it was considered that there was adequate accommodation in the keep and keep yard at the same time.

The rebuilding of the hall to include service rooms in its northern bay and a detached kitchen (Fig. 28, Phase Two A) must date to the first half of the thirteenth century and should be seen in context of Henry III's recorded works of 1223-7 (Colvin 1963, 830 and refs.). The same sequence of events can be seen at Clarendon (James and Robinson 1988, 85, 93-4) where service rooms were butted onto the lower end of the hall, though the north kitchen there predated the service rooms. Excavation below the service rooms at Scarborough produced no evidence of earlier medieval structures and only a single floor, and the total rebuilding of the north wall of the original hall would imply that service doors were not provided until the pantry and buttery were added. It is clear from subsequent surveys and particularly that of 1260 that the great hall had become part of a discrete group of buildings that included the great chamber and wardrobe, a kitchen with connecting passages and stables. The great hall was called the *kyngeshalle* to differentiate it, even after its destruction. As part of a royal residence, it was brought up to modern standard, and it compares well in plan with Bishop Hugh of Wells' great hall in his palace at Lincoln, completed in 1224 (Chapman *et al.* 1975, 6). The workmanship apparent in the rebuilt northern bay is not of the best quality and it lacks the external sand-

stone casing and plinth, suggesting that the building was plastered and white-limed externally, a common feature of major buildings of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century in Yorkshire (e.g. the church and conventual buildings at Fountains Abbey). At Scarborough such a treatment would conceal the rebuilding and its poorer construction. The interior was most certainly plastered, for the render was recorded behind a later wall bench. It is unusual to see such poor quality work in Henry III's buildings, but presumably Scarborough was only considered a minor residence. Certainly the decay of the hall and its associated buildings damaged by storm in 1237 (Cal. Lib. R. 1226-40, 300; Pipe R. 23 Hy III, rot 5), with a defective roof in 1260, and equally ruinous in 1278 (Cal. Inq. Misc. iii, no. 435), suggests that it was little used.

Possibly associated with the re-modelled hall of the early thirteenth century or perhaps earlier are traces of a number of structures visible only as slight earthworks occupying a low terrace to the south of the hall (Fig. 1). None can be identified, but they might include the documented chapel and stables associated with the Queen's chamber. Examination of the lower masonry of Mosdale Hall indicates a suite of basement rooms built of rubble limestone dressed with finely cut sandstone that bond with the curtain wall and the Queen's Tower and which must therefore be contemporary. Their placing at an interruption in the line of the curtain wall might itself suggest that they replaced an earlier building, no physical remains of which can now be identified. With the exception of the north wall which is refaced on the outside with a developed fourteenth-century plinth, the building is essentially a structure of the early thirteenth century with a first floor hall at its north end, with the base of a contemporary wall-fireplace at its upper end, and a substantial first-floor chamber-block at its southern end, with a large latrine tower in the angle between the chamber and the curtain wall. The chamber can only be the 'Qweneschamber' and the extent of the building implies that it was provided for a substantial household, rather more than the documentary sources would suggest. A great hall and a privy hall, coupled with several other buildings suggests that a 'king's house' was being developed in the Outer Bailey at this time.

Further rebuilding is evidenced in the later thirteenth century (Fig. 28), with the upgrading of the hall to include a dais at its upper end, the emphasising of the upper end with external buttresses, a wall bench, and shallow timber porches covering the opposed doors at the lower end. None of these features is exceptional in a public hall. The context for this work is most probably the repairs authorised after the survey of 1260 (Cal Lib R 1251-60, 512-3). There is no evidence to suggest that the hall had not kept its late twelfth-century roof and as the only architectural detail recovered related to the first phase of construction, it is possible that it also retained its original fenestration. By the late thirteenth century it must have appeared distinctly old fashioned and its function was being replaced by the Queen's Hall against the curtain wall.

It comes as little surprise that the great hall, with the exception of its service rooms and kitchen, was demolished before 1361 when the 'kyngeskychyn' was retained and apparently re-modelled to serve the great chamber or 'qweneschambre' which had been substantially rebuilt with the addition of a porch after 1314.

CONCLUSIONS *by* Colin Hayfield

This large aisled hall, as first built, probably stood alone, with no internal dais, no chamber block or associated kitchen, perhaps serving an administrative function. Recovered architectural detail and pottery evidence suggest that it may have been constructed as part of the recorded works of Henry II in the mid twelfth century, rather than in the early thirteenth century by King John as previously thought.

Major renovations took place to the hall in the early thirteenth century, possibly as part of the building works of Henry III between 1223-7, rebuilding the northernmost bay to incorporate a service wing. Probably associated with that was the construction of a detached kitchen block to the north. Developments which suggest that the role of the hall now included feasting. Both hall and kitchen were described as in need of repair in 1260 and again in 1278. Further modifications included the addition of a dais in the southernmost bay.

The hall was ruinous by 1361, although it seems that its service wing survived in use possibly as stores or offices to the kitchen block which continued to service other areas of the castle. Later still, the shell of the kitchen had kilns inserted and probably acted as a brewhouse into the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

By 1538 both buildings were no longer in use and only the chapel is described within the Castle Garth. Indeed, the survey of that date bewails the lack of bakehouse or brewhouse within the castle. Both hall and kitchen had presumably become grassed over, and effectively lost from memory until the need for the new military parade ground in 1888 led to their rediscovery.

These 'conclusions' have been pieced together through the many difficulties of a re-excavated site, missing archive and finds, and a lengthy post-excavation process. The recovered evidence, although at times tenuous, still makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the development of Scarborough Castle; a testament to the skills and efforts of its excavator, the late Tony Pacitto.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report has been a long-time in preparation, having originally been commissioned by the late Jim Lang for English Heritage. However, it lay in abeyance for several years until an initiative by Sarah Jennings of English Heritage to see published. Colin Hayfield undertook the post-excavation work and researched and wrote the present report using Tony Pacitto's original site notes and drawings. It is therefore a particular sadness that Tony Pacitto did not live to see its publication. Thanks are also due to Caroline Atkins, Paul Buckland, Glyn Coppack and Pete Wilson of English Heritage. The line drawings and small finds drawings were undertaken by Simon Hayfield. All site photographs were taken by Tony Pacitto. Many thanks also go to Polydora Baker and Sebastian Payne, who critically read and suggested improvements to an earlier version of the animal bone report.

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ST. OSWALD'S CHURCH, FILEY: A STUDY OF A CRUCIFORM CHURCH IN NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Nicky Milner

St. Oswald's Church, Filey, is a large church of cruciform plan and in its regional context this layout appears to be unique. A study of the construction phases of the church suggests that a tower was originally built at the west end in the 12th century. It would appear from the rebuilding of some of the west end walls that this tower may have collapsed or was taken down because it was unsafe. The reasons for this were probably because the supporting pillars are not aligned and the underlying ground slopes away which may have caused structural problems. As a consequence a crossing tower was constructed and later additions to the church were made in the Early English style.

INTRODUCTION

Churches are unique buildings in that they are the only type of surviving monuments that have usually retained their original function, and have done so in some cases for over a thousand years. With the majority of churches however, their present appearance does not represent their original state. This is because the buildings are subject to constant alterations and additions which result in the loss of historical information. Each church has its own individuality and new knowledge may come to light in recording the architectural features and their dates.

A parish church is also part of a settlement and is an important focal point of a community. It is therefore not only of interest to the archaeologist, historian and parishioners to understand how the church changed over the years, but also to incorporate it into the landscape as a 'component of the pattern of settlement, and churches together as a pattern of places' (Morris 1989, 2).

St. Oswald's Church, Filey, North Yorkshire, is a fairly large building of cruciform plan. This is not particularly unusual in itself, except that in terms of the regional context the layout appears to be unique. A study was undertaken to investigate the reasons for this.

Cooper (1889), Poole and Hugall (1848) and Pevsner (1972) suggest that Filey church dates to the twelfth century and that a west tower was planned but soon rejected in favour of a crossing tower and Cole (1828) suggests that the church may have had two towers at one time. A more recent assessment suggests that the church may have been built a lot earlier and dates to the eleventh century (Sleight 1998). However, from the results of a recent survey presented below there is evidence which suggests that a tower may actually have been erected at the west end, it collapsed and was then relocated to the centre of the church. This paper places Filey church into its regional context, it describes the stylistic features which can be used to date the church and it considers the building phases based on these features and a structural examination.

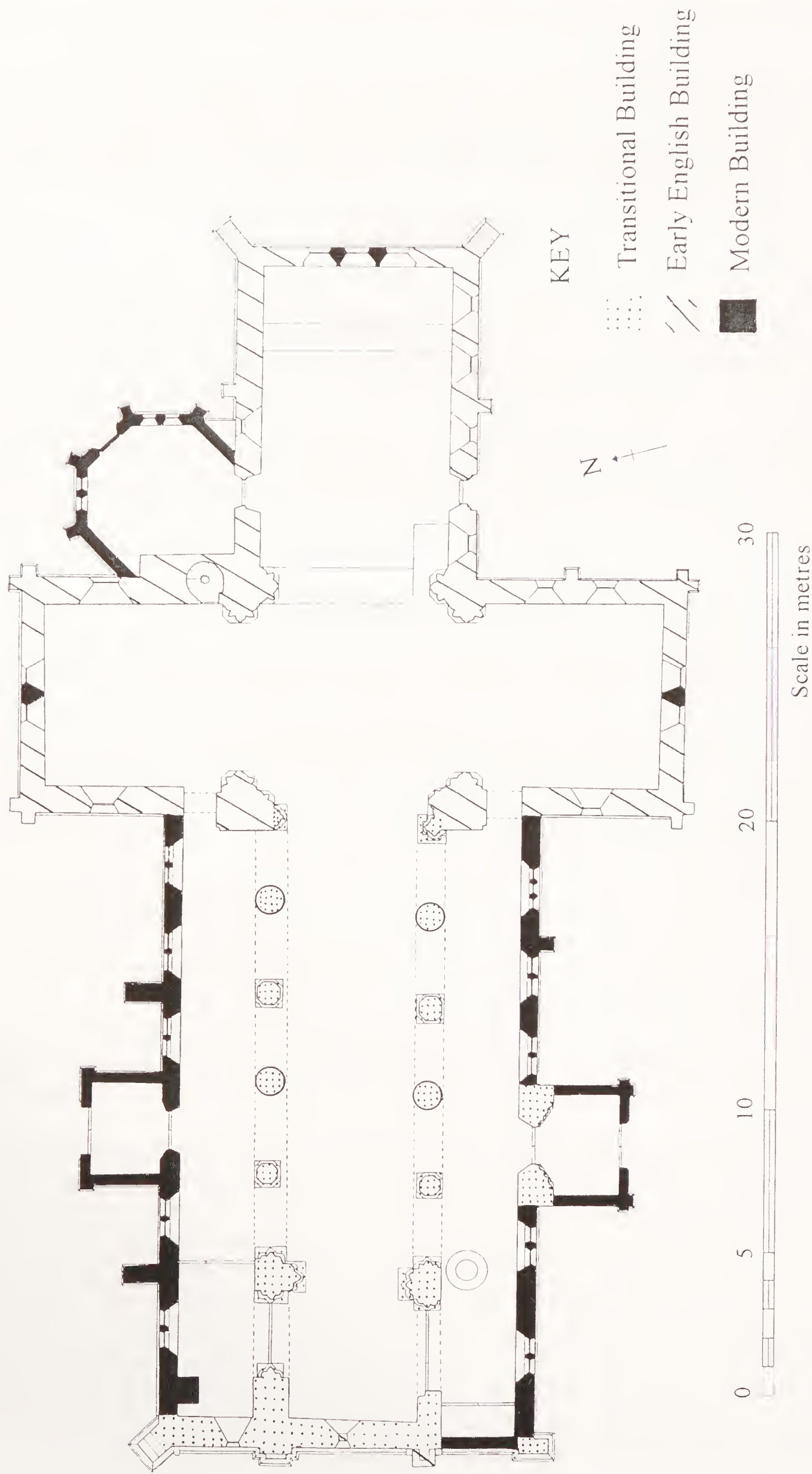


Fig. 1. Plan of St Oswald's Church, Filey (as surveyed in 1995)

ST OSWALD'S CHURCH AND OTHER CHURCHES IN THE REGION

St Oswald's Church commands a solitary position to the north of Filey, separated from the town by a ravine. The church is of cruciform plan and consists of a chancel, north and south transept, a low square tower, clerestoried nave with aisles running its length, a north and south porch and sub-octagonal vestry (Fig. 1). It is a relatively large building, the length from east to west end, including the walls, being 42.8 m. The size of the churches in the region vary greatly but most are smaller than Filey, ranging between about 25-35 m long. Hunmanby and Seamer are the exceptions but they have been added to over the centuries.

Filey church has two main phases comprising of features dating to either the transition of Norman to Early English, or Early English. The church has also been restored over the years, especially in the Victorian period although fortunately many original features were left untouched. Pevsner (1972) states that it is the result of roughly fifty years of building and gives a *terminus post quem* of 1190 for the arcading and a *terminus ante quem* for the buttresses of the chancel and transepts of about 1250. Cooper (1896, xiii) suggests that it was built within 10 years and Poole and Hugall (1848, 119) suggest that it was constructed between 1180 and 1230.

Having visited the other churches in the area and using Pevsner (1966; 1972) and the information in the churches it appears that very few other churches in the region date to this period. In fact, Scalby church and Scarborough church are the only other ones to date to the Transitional period. There are many Norman churches in the region, dating to just before the building of St Oswald's, and there are several Early English churches which overlap with the second phase of building at St Oswald's. There is also one Perpendicular and a few nineteenth-century churches.

It is not always immediately obvious how the plan of a church would have originally appeared when it has been added to over the centuries. From first glance most of the churches in the region appear to be of the three cell type (with a nave, chancel and sanctuary) plus a western tower. There are no other cruciform churches. Garton-on-the-Wolds and Speeton are all examples of churches that have virtually been untouched structurally. Many others have had additions of aisles, porches or buttresses in the thirteenth century or later but it appears that all bar one of the other churches in the area were originally of the three cell type, Seamer being the exception. This is a Norman building although its roots go back to the Domesday Book and maybe even further back. According to the guide book in this church, the first plan consisted of a nave and a clerestory, a central tower and an apse. It is suggested that the tower was later moved to the west end and the chancel made square ended. The reasoning for a central tower seems to be based on the fact that the south wall of the chancel's first bay is 1.5 m thick. There does not seem to be any physical evidence for the apse.

Many of the churches of Norman date exhibit the use of zigzag chevrons and scalloped capitals. These features tend to appear from about 1130 onwards and the zigzag ornamentation continues right up until 1180, although Cistercian influences appear 1160-1170 (Service 1982, 74-75). The churches displaying this decoration are probably earlier than Filey. Scalby church and Scarborough church appear to be the only other churches of Transitional date and they bear

some similarities to St Oswald's. At Scalby, the chancel arch is similar to the arcade arches at Filey. It is pointed and has two chamfered orders. There are also similar lancet windows in the chancel but these probably date to the early thirteenth century (Pevsner 1966, 318). There are some similarities at Scarborough church too, although here the west façade had been much more elaborate, being three-storied and twin-towered (Hoey 2001).

Before discussing the architecture and phases of Filey church further, it is important to raise the point that there was probably an earlier church on or near the site of the present St Oswald's. The earliest material date for the church is sometime in the late twelfth century but there are two documentary sources suggesting that there was an earlier church here. The Bridlington Chartulary records that Walter de Gant gave the church of *Fineley* to Bridlington Priory for its foundation endowment between 1114 and 1124 and in about 1150 a man named Randolph acted as a witness for a legal document and he was described as being the Priest of *Fithely* (Fearon 1990, 18).

The place name evidence certainly suggests that there was occupation or activity in the area at the time of the Domesday Book, Filey being mentioned as *Fiuelac* or *Fivelac* (Cooper 1889; Nicholson 1926, 40). A Roman signal station has also been excavated just north of the church above Filey Brigg suggesting even earlier occupation (Ottaway 2000, 193). As for evidence of a church, there is an interlaced slab in the belfry stair which may indicate an earlier Christian presence. As the stone is not complete Collingwood (1911) extended the pattern and thought he could detect a slight tapering. He suggests it would make the stone either a cross-shaft, although the proportions would not be correct, or a grave slab (Collingwood 1911, 259). Cooper (1889, 17) also writes about this stone and mentions 'a Professor Browne' (who was in fact the Disney Professor at Cambridge in the late nineteenth century and a scholar of Anglo-Saxon crosses) who suggests it was a grave stone or shaft cross but whichever 'a witness to Christian teaching'.

Two main architectural styles have been recognised in St Oswald's Church: the transition from Norman to Early English, and Early English. A description of these two styles and an investigation into the building in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will be the focus of this paper although it is noted that there have also been various additions and alterations made since.

The Norman and Early English styles of architecture differ in some essential aspects. The Norman style has its origins in Normandy and was introduced into England just before the conquest of 1066. It is characterised by its sense of robustness. Substantial walls, often a metre thick, sturdy pillars and a massive tower are typical features. The rounded arch is also a common trait. These characteristics are continued to just before the end of the twelfth century. Early English features begin to appear at this time. The architecture of this style is more graceful and pillars become more slender. The arch changes from the rounded shape to a pointed one. The Transitional period therefore is simply a mix of the rounded features of the Norman style which gradually develop into the pointed Gothic style.

The influences of Medieval church architecture tend to come from monastic orders. Most of the early Norman church building was in the hands of the Benedictine Order but later the Cluniacs became influential. They favoured the view that no expense was too great to be lavished on the structure of the church and therefore around 1130 much decorative carving was employed

(Clapham 1934, 70). The Cistercian Orders, however, had opposing puritanical views and consequently these churches were much plainer. After 1160 this severe style was more influential and this is about the time of the transition in styles (Howard 1936, 52). St. Oswald's church was built by the Augustinian monks of Bridlington Priory. The Augustinians tended to adopt both Cluniac and Cistercian styles, although towards the latter half of the century the churches tended to change towards Cistercian standards (Clapham 1934, 84). This appears to be the style used for St Oswald's Church.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

To order the architectural analysis this section will be split into two parts: firstly the evidence from the nave and aisles, the interior and exterior, which roughly corresponds to the Transitional period and secondly the evidence from the tower, transepts and chancel which corresponds to the Early English style (Fig. 1).

THE NAVE AND AISLES

The nave is usually entered by the door in the south aisle through the south porch. The doorway is recessed and has a semicircular arch of continuous undecorated mouldings springing from four orders: three detached circular shafts and an attached circular shaft on both jambs. The three detached shafts have square abaci, capitals of hollowed profile and circular bases. Each rests on a square plinth. This semi-circular arch is typically Norman in character. The fact that the doorway is recessed and made up of orders may be used to suggest a late Norman date (Parker 1840, 77); however, Norman arches are often decorated with zigzagged chevron motif, as found on many other churches in the region. The plain style exhibited here may be the result of the puritan Cistercian style dating the doorway to after 1160 (Howard 1936, 52).

The north and south arcades run the full length of the nave. Both are composed of six arches. These are pointed, chamfered arches of two orders with hoodmoulds. At the intersection of one of the hoodmoulds is a roughly sculptured head. The arcades are similar in most respects except that the pillars are not in alignment (Fig. 1).

The seven pillars in each arcade from which the arches spring are not homogeneous. Numbering them from east to west, 1 to 7, pillar 1 in the south arcade is composed of four columns around an inner square. The abaci are square in plan and chamfered down to the capitals of hollowed profile. The moulded bases are circular and rest on square plinths which sit on a large square plinth. The opposite pillar in the north arcade is very similar except that it is only composed of three columns. It is likely however, that there were once four and the fourth was incorporated into the large tower pier which was constructed at a later date. The fact that the pillars do not align meant that in the south arcade only half of the fourth pillar was incorporated into the pier (Fig. 1).

The next four pillars, 2 to 5, of each arcade are alternately circular and octagonal from east to west. The sturdy circular pillars have a circumference of roughly 250 cm. The abaci are circular as are the capitals and the bases. The octagonal pillars have octagonal abaci, capitals and bases. Pillar 5 on the south arcade, of octagonal form, is the only one with a decorated capital. The decoration is of waterleaf foliage. The Red Guide (Anon 1926) suggests the reason

that this is the sole sculptured capital is to mark it as 'the guardian of the font' which stands near it. This accords with 1 Kings vii., 22: 'Upon the top of the pillar was lily work.' The font however was not necessarily always in its present position and may not even date to this period. It is an undecorated, stone, bowl-shaped basin supported on a sturdy shaft and a circular plinth. A bowl supported on a pedestal could be of Norman date (Tyrrell-Green 1924, 116). It is quite sturdy like most features of this time and not as elegant as the Gothic period. Fawcett (1848) assigns it to the Norman or Transitional period but the plainness makes it hard to date.

The pillars 6 on each arcade are very different. The arch springing from the last octagonal pillar 5, is supported on its western side by three attached columns; a keeled shaft in the centre with a square abacus, slightly keeled base, and a circular shaft either side with square abaci, circular capitals and bases. All three rest on two large square plinths. The next arch springs from the same tripartite components but there is an area of wall in between the two. The final supporting pillar, 7, of the north arcade is the same tripartite configuration. Pillar 7 on the south arcade however has not been completed and is simply squared off (this will be discussed further below). Two more tripartite pillar configurations, similar to the ones described above except taller, abut pillar 6 and face inwards. Their function was to support a western tower, also to be discussed below.

The lancet window in the west wall has a fairly small opening, is deep and



Fig. 2. Photograph of St Oswald's Church taken pre 1885

splayed. It is a puzzle why the window is not central to the nave but was inserted nearer to the north arcade. It may however be something to do with the stair for the west tower. Its pointed form suggests an Early English date.

The clerestory has small, deep, splayed, round-headed windows above each arch of the arcade, six on each side. All are the same size except the one furthest west in each arcade and the one furthest east in the north arcade. These are only slightly wider.

Most of the aisles have been rebuilt. The north and south walls were rebuilt in the nineteenth century and it seems that the western wall in the south aisle has also been rebuilt at some time. It is much thinner than the rest of the west wall, (Fig. 1). The western wall in the north aisle has a deep, splayed, round-headed, window in it. The window itself is small and is only 35 cm across.

The eastern end of the aisles both have pointed chamfered arches of two orders. They are of a fairly rough character and both seem to have been cut into by the large piers supporting the central tower. They are supported on their other side by a corbel.

The modern windows in the north and south aisles were inserted in the restoration of 1885. They are in groups of two pointed lights separated by a mullion. The furthest east window in the south aisle is different in that it is a group of three pointed lights separated by mullions. The windows previously were square-headed, plain windows of two lights (Fig. 2). This form of window is common towards the end of the Perpendicular style of architecture (Parker 1840, 237).

There is an effigy on the south aisle although this may not be its original position. It probably pre-dates this wall. It has been described by Cooper (1889, 25) as a boy bishop whereas Lawrance (1948) believes that is the only miniature figure of an Augustinian Canon, perhaps one of the canons who served the church from Bridlington Priory. Lawrance (1948) dates it to 1310. The date in the Filey church leaflet is given as between 1250 and 1300 because before 1250 the figures had round cushions under the head, as opposed to the lozenge shape seen here.

In sum, pointed arches are a feature of the Early English period. The cylindrical pillars however have the sturdiness of the Norman style and in the Transitional period the octagon form was also becoming popular (Howard 1936, 55). The waterleaf foliage on the octagonal capital is typical of the Transitional stage 'a compromise between the Norman and Early English motives' (Howard 1936, 55). This is another feature of Cistercian influence and tends to appear in the churches after about 1170 (Service 1982, 75). Pevsner also dates waterleaf foliage to the 1170s and 1180s (Pevsner 1972, 19). The clerestory with its deep, small windows is also probably Transitional, the round-headed feature of the windows being of Norman style. This clerestory at St Oswald's is mentioned by Cox who dates it to the Transitional period and states that it is a comparatively rare feature at this time (Cox and Ford 1937, 34). Tyrrell-Green (1924, 121) also describes the round-headed doorway and pointed pier-arches with a clerestory of round-headed windows as typically Transitional.

The aisles are contemporary with the nave. The window in the west wall is of Norman style being of small proportions and round-headed. The arches into the transepts are similar to the arcade arches although smaller. The corbels could date to sometime after 1170 when they are introduced by the Cistercian monks (Service 1982, 75). The windows have obviously been altered several

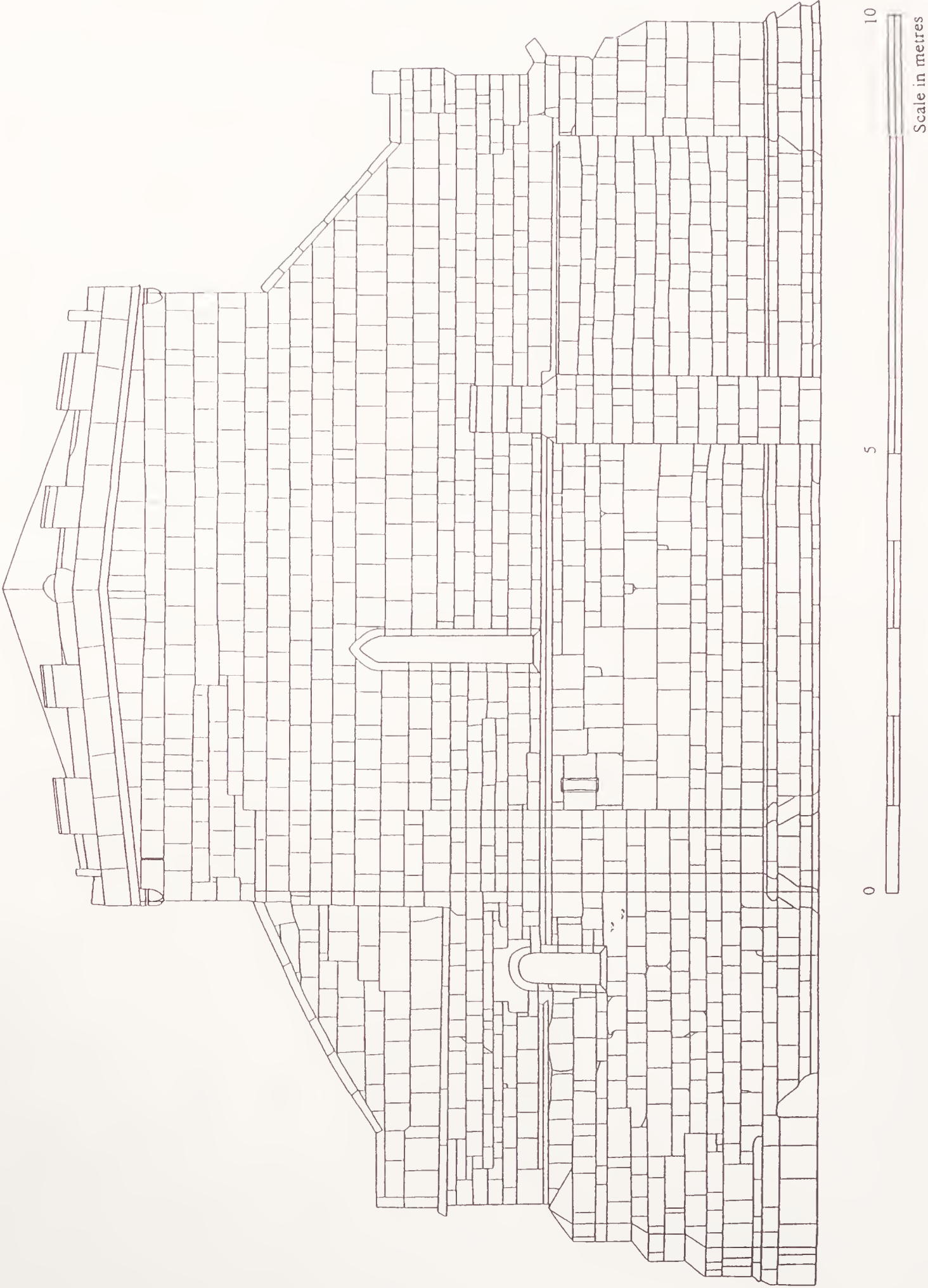


Fig. 3. An elevation of the exterior of the west wall

times and it will never be known what the original form may have been like.

The Exterior

Most of the exterior of the church has been rebuilt. The porches and the aisle walls were restored in the nineteenth century. The west wall and clerestory are the only surviving exterior walls of the original church although even parts of the west wall appear to have been rebuilt. The exterior parts of a church are harder to date for they 1885 (Fig. 2).

Although the string course along the north aisle was described as being of Norman character by Poole and Hugall (1848) both north and south walls of the aisles have been rebuilt since. The plain plinths were also added at this time, as were the plain stringcourses and the buttresses. There are two buttresses on the north aisle wall which project out by 128 cm and are composed of three stages. They die into the wall well below the parapet. There is only one buttress on the south aisle but this only projects 57 cm and is composed of two stages, the upper one decreasing in width as well. The north and south porches were also added in the nineteenth century.

THE TOWER, TRANSEPTS AND CHANCEL

The Interior

The area under the central tower has a quadripartite vault. This tower and vault are supported by large, pointed and heavily moulded crossing arches. The mouldings of the chancel and south transept arches are unfinished but the completed ones of the north transept and nave are a series of rolls of different sizes, some with fillets and hollows. The arches of the transepts and chancel spring from pillars of five clustered shafts. The centre column is circular with a fillet running up it and splaying out into the capital. The two columns either side are keeled and the outer two are half the circular form where they meet



Fig. 4. Photograph to show crossing arch showing mouldings, pillars and the bad mitre

the wall and abutting arch. The capitals and abaci are moulded, however the shafts have no bases and rest on a plinth. The nave arch is composed of half this arrangement. It does not mitre well with the transept arches either and greatly overlaps the north transept arch. A sculptured head has been added here (Fig. 4).

The crossing arches and pillars are Early English in style. The formation of the columns are similar to those at Beverley Minster which also has circular and keeled shafts with fillets running up them and have been dated by Pevsner (1966) to about 1230-1260.

The south transept has three lancet windows in it, the north transept only two and the chancel has four lancet windows in its south wall. There is also one in the north wall although a joint to the east of this on the exterior wall indicates there were, at one time, two. The proportions of these windows vary very slightly but they are all long, narrow, splayed and pointed. They are plain but are typical of the Early English period. The windows in the south wall of the south transept and the north wall of the north transept are composed of two lights inserted in the nineteenth century, but the lancet shape copies the other windows. There is a door to the belfry staircase in the east wall of the north transept and a rectangular window above this door borrows light from the transept into the staircase.

The east window in the chancel is a modern addition. It is a triple lancet window, the middle light being taller than the outer two, with attached circular columns at the jambs. Old photographs reveal that the previous window was composed of three lights, the lancets being of the same height however. They were separated by plain mullions and surmounted by a pointed arch and plain panel tracery. This kind of tracery appears to be very characteristic of the Perpendicular Style (Cocke *et al* 1984; Parker 1840, 236) which means that even this window was not the original one.

There is a triple sedilia recessed into the west wall of the south transept. The three niches are separated by attached circular columns, capitals and bases standing on square plinths. Moulded trefoil heads rise from these columns and four quatrefoils have been pierced in the spandrels. There is a similar one in the south wall of the chancel except that it is surmounted by a hoodmould and there are only two quatrefoil decorations. There is a piscina to the left of it. This is pointed but very plain. There are also piscinae in the east walls of the transepts. These are trefoil headed but asymmetrical and rather rough and plain. The piscinae are plain and therefore hard to date. They are rare prior to the Early English phase however. The sedilia have moulded trefoil heads which could indicate a date sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The mensa, or stone altar-top, in the sanctuary was found in the floor of the chancel in 1925 (Gower 1983) and had, no doubt, been taken down at the time of the Reformation. Ancient stone altars are rare in this country. The slab forming the altar was sometimes supported on pillars or brackets but usually on solid masonry. The top measures 182 cm by 88 cm and is 15 cm thick, tapering in. It has five crosses on it. It has been described in the church guidebook as being of Norman date but the plain character makes it hard to assign a date.

The Exterior

The tower is large, square and squat and from the plan must be roughly 9 m square. The roof is a very low pyramid. The embattled parapets are the same as

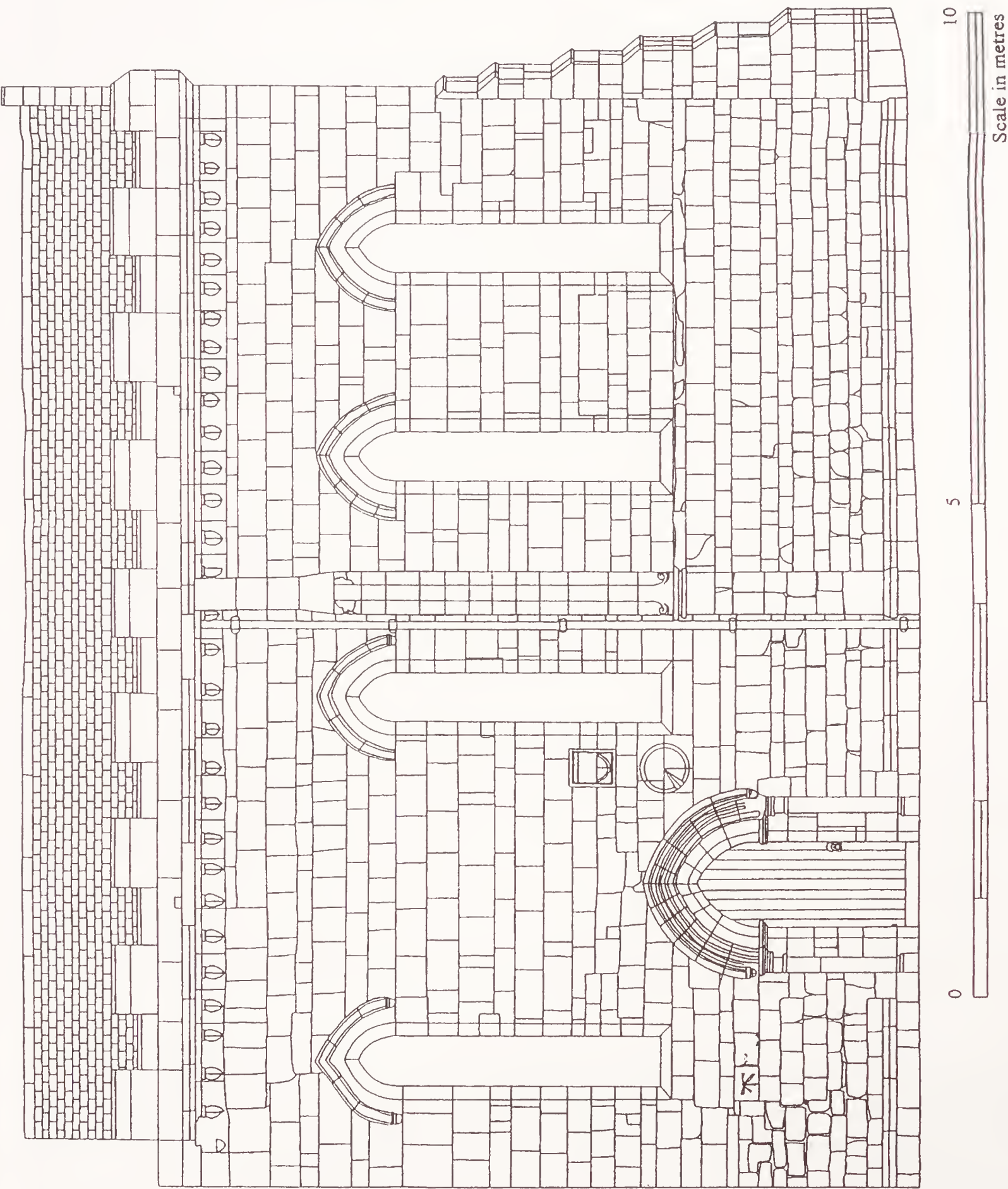


Fig. 5. Elevation of the exterior south wall of the chancel

those on the nave and aisles but the corbel table is a mix of carvings. The north and west faces have rounded, fairly eroded corbel blocks like those of the clerestory and nave. The blocks on the south face are not as wide, are slightly more pointed and do not sit on the flat face of the wall but against a concave moulding. The east face has a mixture of both styles including a sculptured head at the south end. There is a belfry window on each face of the tower and each is composed of two pointed lights. On the west, north and east face the jamb is chamfered and an octagonal column separates the lights. The south window has been added to with a circular shaft in the middle of the lights and two circular shafts on each jamb. The hoodmoulding embracing the breadth of the window is a semicircular arch. The windows sit on a plain stringcourse. The tower has broad, flat, angle buttresses at each corner and the belfry stairs are carried up in a rectangular turret on the exterior against the east side of the north transept.

The tower is beginning to show some move to the Early English style of architecture. The belfry lights are pointed even though the arch is still semi-circular. The low proportions of the tower, the flat broad buttresses and the exterior staircase are all Norman features, although in the Early English period there is greater variety of design and proportion and they are not out of place here either (Parker 1840, 214).

There are angle buttresses on the corners of both transepts. There is also one on the east wall of the south transept, one on the north and south side of the chancel and one in between the double light window of the south transept. These project out about 43 cm and are 45 cm wide. The angle buttresses slope into the wall just below the parapets. The others extend right up to the parapets. On all of them the corners have been chamfered off above the low stringcourse, which runs below the sills of the windows in the transepts. The bottom and top of this chamfering has scroll stops on it.

There are two diagonal buttresses on the corners of the east end of the chancel composed of six stages, and the buttress on the north wall of the north transept between the double light window dies into the wall directly above the stringcourse. Apart from the diagonal buttresses and the buttresses between the double light windows (which may be of a later date), the buttresses are Early English. A buttress of nearly the same projection as breadth and carried up to the parapet, sometimes without any set off and often with their edges chamfered is typical of the Early English style (Rickman 1881, 131). Pevsner (1972, 228) states that they are similar to those at Bridlington Priory and dates them to about 1250.

Figure 5 illustrates one of the buttresses and also other features typical of the Early English exterior of this church. It demonstrates the contrast that exists between this east end and the Transitional west end features. The priest's door has a moulded pointed arch springing from one column either side. The columns have circular, moulded capitals and bases which stand on a square plinth. The jambs are chamfered. It is fairly plain but is typical of the Early English period and from other examples may date to about 1220 (Rickman 1881, 113).

The embattled parapets on the tower, transepts and chancel are of the same form as the nave and are also of 1839. The transept and chancel corbel-tables are slightly different, the blocks being slightly more pointed and not so wide, and they sit against a concave moulding rather than flat on the wall.

All the windows of the chancel and transepts have hoodmoulds and some have plain label stops. The south chancel wall had a bronze sun dial on it with the Greek inscription 'NYX EXPETAI' meaning 'the night cometh', but sadly this has recently been stolen from the church. A mass clock is also engraved into the wall.

The vestry is a sub-octagonal room built onto the corner of the chancel and north transept in 1885.

THE PHASING OF ST OSWALD'S CHURCH

From the above evidence the church can be split into three phases: the Transitional, the Early English and more recent additions. A phase plan is shown in Figure 1. There is a very obvious difference between the features in the nave which tend to be small and rounded, although the pointed aspect is introduced with the arches, compared to the rest of the church. The windows in the transepts and chancel, however, have become more pointed and much longer, letting more light into the church. The mouldings and clustered shafts of the crossing arches also show a progression of style.

The transition may have started as early as 1140. One of the major turning points being the austere Cistercian influences, and although pointed features tend to indicate the Early English period pointed arcade arches are known to have been introduced fairly early on (Cox and Ford 1937, 51). Cox and Ford (1937) also believe that a consistent Gothic style did not appear until the 1220s. The only really datable feature in this part of the church is the waterleaf capital but it is possible that this carving was executed after most of the building had been completed. The church does display Cistercian influences in the south door and it would seem reasonable to date it to around 1170. The Early English features seem to be datable to the first half of the thirteenth century and the construction may have continued until about 1250 at the latest. These two phases have been separated out in the analysis and the church appears to have a division between the Transitional nave and aisles and the Early English transepts, tower and chancel. It is also possible, however, that the church may actually represent a fairly long but almost continuous process of building.

Churches after the Norman Conquest tended to be one of three types:

1. a nave and sanctuary (2 cell type)
2. a nave, chancel and sanctuary (3 cell type)
3. a cruciform/cross church with nave, transepts, sanctuary and central tower

(Cox and Ford 1937, 23).

The first phase of St Oswald's Church was not type 3 because the design for the first phase of building included a tower at the west end, rather than in the centre as at present. It must have been a type 1 or 2, although its overall size suggests the latter, a 3 cell type.

According to all the references on Filey church the west tower was hardly started. Pevsner (1972, 227) states that the plan for a west tower must very soon have been given up in favour of a crossing tower. Cooper (1889, 23) suggests that the building was abandoned due to the un-straight south-east pier. Poole and Hugall (1848) suggest that perhaps some accident demanded an entire rebuilding or that possibly a wealthy donor offered to make the church a larger

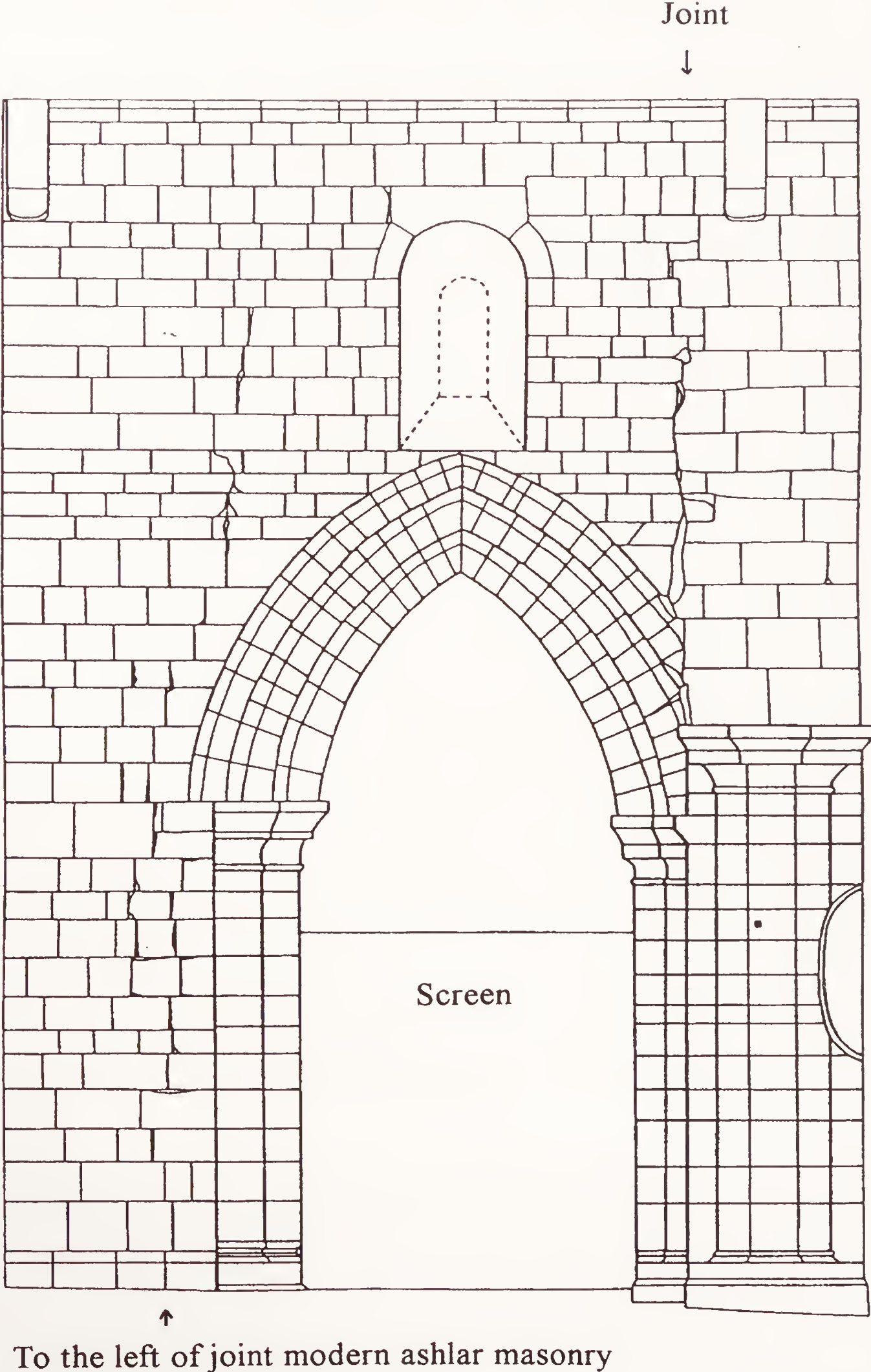


Fig. 6. Elevation of the westernmost bay in the north arcade: the view is from the nave looking north

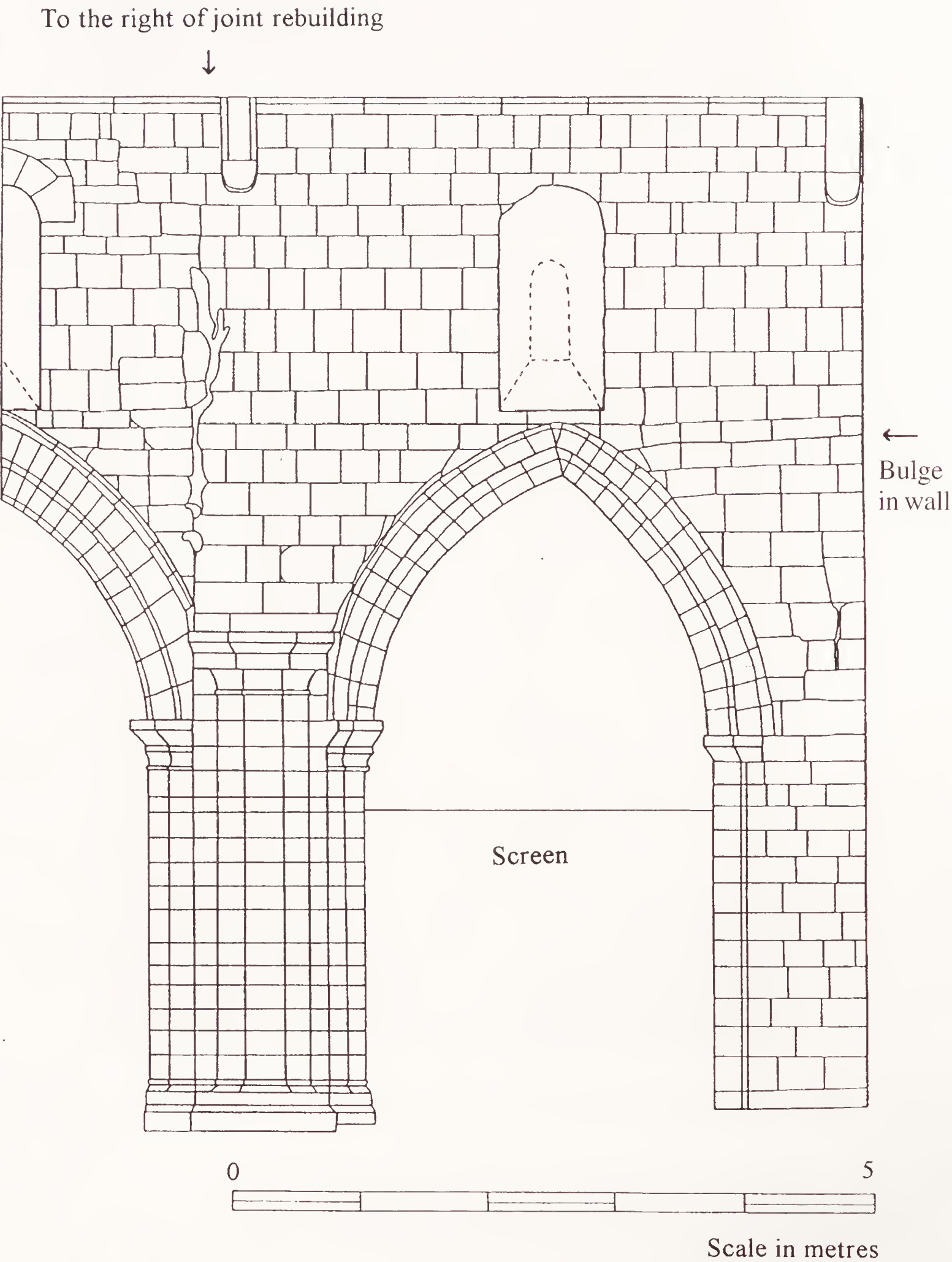


Fig. 7. Elevation of the westernmost bay in the south arcade: the view is from the nave looking south

one and the central tower, transepts and chancel were erected. Cole (1828) even suggests that the church was at one time cathedral-like with two towers. From the results of this survey, however, there is evidence to suggest that the tower had almost been erected, or perhaps even finished, when part of it collapsed and it was relocated to the centre of the church. This hypothesis will be explored below.

THE WEST TOWER

The most obvious indicators which demonstrate that a tower was planned for the west end are the tall pillars which abut the walls of pillars 6; these are redundant and no longer support anything (see Fig. 8). There is also a very small rectangular window on the outside of the building which was probably inserted to let light into a tower staircase. The staircase had been built and was taken down in the last century. There is modern ashlar built into the interior west wall and on the westernmost bay of on the north arcade (see Fig. 6).

Figure 6 also shows a piece of rebuilding above the tower pier. This is later than the rest of the wall and would suggest the arch and part of a wall may have fallen down or was removed. This last bay in the north arcade is very different to its opposite in the south arcade. As the elevation shows, the arch is of three chamfered orders, rather than the two in the rest of the arcade. The wall is in fact thicker and projects forward 25 cm from the arcade which continues to the right. It is likely that this was built to add extra support for the tower.

The bay on the south does not project out northwards at all but it is a continuation of the arcade, see (Fig. 7). The arch looks as though it has been cut into the wall, it is only of two chamfered orders, it is off-centre and the arch span is wider. It is supported on the west by an unfinished, squared off pillar. The elevation also shows the joint between this bay and the rest of the arcade and this can also be seen in the exterior wall of the clerestory when standing outside of the church.

The whole wall seems to have been rebuilt and made to imitate the rest of the arcade, although the bad workmanship suggests that it was hurried. The clerestory windows in the bays of the two arcades also look as if they are an afterthought. Both appear to have been hacked out, the one on the south arcade especially. The splay is very rough and the window has obviously been cut into the wall. These windows are also slightly larger than the other clerestory ones.

A lot of the exterior west wall also appears to have been rebuilt at some time (Fig. 3). All this secondary building can only be the result of the tower becoming unsafe and perhaps collapsing, taking down the last bay of the south arcade too. The crossing tower was probably built very soon after. It is quite unusual for this to happen. It is more common for a west tower to be built because a crossing tower has collapsed (Cox and Ford 1937, 38).

The slant of the south east pier for the west tower has been used to explain the abandonment of the west tower in favour of a crossing tower (Fig. 8). The situation of the church, however, seems to be the underlying reason. The church is sitting very close to the ravine and the ground slopes away on its south side. The geology is boulder clay and the church appears to suffer from settling. The west wall shows this, especially on the south corner. The south bay bulges out above the squared off pillar (Fig. 7) and the wall above this bay on the aisle



Fig. 8. Photograph to show the angle at which the south east pier in the south arcade leans

side swells out. The south wall of the chancel also leans towards the ravine. It seems that this west end was unable to support a tower and the fact that the pillars are not aligned (Fig. 1) can only have made the situation worse.

THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE

The nave, including the clerestory, has not been altered since its initial building, unlike the aisles. It is likely that the thinner part of the west wall in the south aisle was initially as thick as the rest of the west wall and may have had a



Fig. 9. Photograph to show the joint in the east wall of the north transept

window similar to that in the north aisle. The north and south aisles would also have been thicker. The clasping buttress on the south-west corner juts out further on the south wall than the west wall. The door also projects far out of the south aisle, although it should be noted that projecting doorways were a common feature of late twelfth-century ornate entrances in Yorkshire. There is also the remains of old roof weathering on the south transept indicating the aisle

wall did not protrude out further.

The nave obviously led into the chancel and sanctuary, although it is hard to tell what it may have looked like, for any evidence from the nave eastward has more or less been obliterated by later building. The chancel was probably square-ended, an apse being less common although there are examples from the Norman period in various parts of the country (Parker 1840, 12). Frequently, the chancel was not as wide as the nave and aisles, and it may have had side chapels. The arches which lead into the transepts from the aisles are very likely to be of Transitional date. They are also cut by piers, inserted when the central tower was built in the Early English phase, and therefore pre-date them.

There are also some pieces of wall in the transepts which may belong to the earlier chapels, and chancel and sanctuary. There is a joint in the east wall of the south transept and the masonry protrudes out slightly further than the transept wall. There is also a joint running up the east wall of the north transept where the belfry stairs are (Fig. 9). Looking up in the interior of the chancel at the point where the south wall meets the chancel arch a slight change in masonry to a rougher stone can be detected. On the exterior south wall of the chancel is an area of rough masonry which contrasts with the large blocks used in the rest of the chancel. This can be seen on Figure 5. These pieces of wall may have belonged to earlier chapels.

Side chapels are not a particularly common feature of churches at this time and they tended to be added later in the Gothic period (Cox and Ford 1937, 36). According to Cooper (1889, 23) however, the Augustinians were not allowed to worship with the rest of the congregation and probably attended mass in the transepts or chapels, and used them for their devotions. The parishioners were confined to the nave with a view of the High Altar. It may be that the south transept operated as a separate chapel, evidence of which comes from the presence of the sedilia. This may have been moved to the west wall as it would more normally be placed in the south wall close to the piscina in the east wall and there is some evidence of disturbance in the south wall with a damaged stringcourse.

THE EARLY ENGLISH PHASE

It appears that the crossing tower was added when the west tower collapsed. The east wall of the tower may have been built into the corner walls of the chapels and sanctuary. As has already been mentioned there is evidence around the tower arches that older masonry exists. Overlapping these walls would have created a good support for the tower. The transepts and chancel must then have been extended, the previous chancel becoming the crossing area. The fact that the chancel is two steps lower than the rest of the church is an unusual feature but may simply be to do with the level of the ground.

The church by the middle of the thirteenth century was more or less the same in plan as it is today, although some of the walls may have become thinner in nineteenth century restorations. The pitch of the roofs was a lot steeper, and from the weatherings on the tower faces it can be deduced that the transepts and chancel roofs were higher than the nave roof.

SINCE THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Since the thirteenth century further alterations have been carried out. The

parapets and the east window of the chancel were added in the Perpendicular period and at the end of it the square headed windows were inserted in the aisles. Other alterations must have taken place since the initial building but many of these may have been removed or changed.

Written evidence also provides details of changes which took place through the centuries. In 1828 Cole writes that the sedilia in the south transept and north and south doors in the chancel, the vestry door and priest's door respectively, were walled up. Before 1839 the vestry was a large cupboard at the west end (Cooper 1889, 25) but in 1839 restorations were carried out and a square vestry was built in the location of the present one. The oak seating and Gothic screen were also removed and the church was heavily whitewashed. The south aisle was also restored at this time (Cooper 1889, 25). In 1885 further restorations were carried out. The north aisle was rebuilt, the floor lowered to its proper level and drains added all around the exterior. The walls were stripped of their plaster, the roughness was preferred and it was decided to be kept like that. It is thanks to this decision that it has been possible to carry out a detailed survey of the structural alterations of this church.

A LATE SAXON MINSTER?

Recently a rather different theory has been put forward for St Oswald's Church, Filey. Sleight (1998) suggests that the existing structure incorporates work from the end of the first half of the eleventh century, based on an examination of the tower. One of the main arguments appears to be that the central tower has salient angles which is 'virtually inconceivable after 1100'. Sleight argues that the tower may in fact be the oldest part of the church even though many of the features of the tower are Transitional in style. It is suggested that the ashlar facing of the lower stage of the tower, the buttresses, the stair turret and the whole of the upper stage of the tower are later modifications and additions 'designed to make the tower acceptable to the architectural principles of the twelfth century' (Sleight 1998, 68). The tower does have salient angles, but this argument cannot hold. If there had been a desire to disguise the salient angles of an early tower as argued then the Early English transepts and chancel could simply have been built slightly larger.

It is my feeling that the tower may have been built the size and shape it is for practicality, as can be seen when examining the internal features in greater detail. If, for the moment, the tower is assumed to be one of the latest additions to the church, as in the hypothesis presented above, the proportions of the nave must have influenced the building and size of the tower. Looking at the plan (Fig. 1) if the tower had been made any smaller, to avoid salient angles, the buttresses in the crossing area would have formed a tighter square, thereby reducing the size of the nave arch and restricting the view down the nave. It would appear that the crossing arches are not perfect either, as noted above, with the nave arch appearing to fit in as best as possible.

The nave is perhaps the key here. Again from the plan (Fig. 1) the nave is not symmetrical. This may have originated at the west end where problems with the west tower first occurred. If the other nave columns were measured from the west tower pillars one can see how further problems may have occurred. In this case building a central tower on an off-line nave must have been problematic. However, it would seem that part of the easternmost bay of the north aisle

was knocked down and the pillar repositioned slightly so that this east end was squarer (although in reality it is still not symmetrical), (Fig. 1). This would account for the uneven arch at the east end of the north aisle and the fact that the two end pillars (pillar pair 1, above) are not symmetrical either, in terms of numbers of columns or bases. These pillars were probably meant to support some kind of chancel arch as opposed to a tower. The tower made them redundant but they were kept because they supported the nave arches. It would seem that the pillars must pre-date the tower supports because they appear to be incorporated into them. They also match the west end pillars in style. My argument in short is that from internal inspection the nave predates the tower.

There appears to be little material evidence for an earlier tower in Sleight's argument. No mention is made of the pillars which must have held up an early tower and there is no physical evidence for these, although features like these may not be visible due to later additions. The phasing and rebuilding of this church is complex, especially as much of the building must have happened in a relatively short period of time, along with a change in styles. Perhaps more evidence for earlier building will come to light and there may well have been an earlier monastic settlement. There are earthworks to the north of the church which could also be investigated.

CONCLUSION

The study of this church has the advantage of it being in its natural state, i.e. the walls are not rendered as they would have been in medieval times. It has been assigned various dates for its first construction, but all fall within the Transitional period and probably lie close to 1170. Due to problems in building the west tower it is likely that the construction took longer than was planned and the incorporation of Early English styles into the architecture may be a result of this. From the study of its walls and plan it would seem that its cruciform shape is probably due to early structural problems, rather than by design. However, this has made the church unique to the region and St. Oswald's is described by Pevsner (1972, 227) as 'easily the finest church in the north-east corner of the East Riding'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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EXCAVATIONS AT WEST STREET, GARGRAVE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By A. E. Finney, M. R. Stephens and P. A. Ware

with contributions by J. Carrott, H. E. M. Cool, K. Dobney, F. Large
and A. Hall

During 1997 excavations were undertaken in advance of development at West Street, Gargrave on one of the two moated sites known in Gargrave. The earliest evidence for structural activity came from the twelfth/thirteenth century and consisted of at least three timber buildings of posthole construction. The moat and associated buildings underwent several phases of recutting and remodelling in the medieval period. The moat was backfilled in the post-medieval period and the area used for construction activities associated with the Old Hall including limekilns. Under half of the moat platform was excavated and further structures may have existed outside of those areas investigated. During the life of the moat changes to the interior were also implemented.



Figure 1. Regional location.

INTRODUCTION

Gargrave is a large village 6.5 km to the north-west of Skipton, and has two medieval moated sites that have survived into the twentieth century as extant earthworks. One located to the south of the River Aire, close to the parish church of St. Andrews (SD 931 537), is a class A1a moated site (Le Patourel 1973). The second is situated at West Street approximately 300 m from the River Aire and bounded by the Leeds and Liverpool Canal to the north and Old Hall Farm to the south (SD 9322 5438: Figs. 1–4).

The West Street site, measuring approximately 0.84 ha in area, was at the time of the excavations an open area of pasture dominated by two pronounced earthworks, the canal bank in the north and a sub-circular platform in the central to southern area of the site (Fig. 4). Surface levels showed a gradual slope from north to south of 0.97 m (*c.* 103.58 – 102.61 m AOD) and a much less defined slope from west to east of 0.29 m (103.74 – 103.45 m AOD).

Outline planning permission for housing was granted for the site in the mid 1970's, and development work commenced in 1976 with the excavation of trial holes along the access road and the foundation trenches for one of the houses. The archaeological potential was recognised by a local resident (Mr L Atkinson) who reported to Skipton Museum medieval pottery and iron slag in the spoil from the development works, as well as the occurrence of extant earthworks on the site. Development work was suspended and a programme of excavation was carried out from 1977–1981 (Williams 1983). Due to economic factors the site remained in stasis until 1987 when the original outline planning permission was renewed with a Watching Brief condition, a further renewal of the permission in 1992 retained the Watching Brief condition. In early April 1997 the site was sold for residential development to Burley Developments Ltd. Following a series of meetings between English Heritage, the Heritage Department of North Yorkshire County Council, MAP Archaeological Consultancy Ltd and the developer, a decision was made to undertake further limited archaeological excavations prior to development (Fig. 5). The approach adopted to the archaeology was very much in the hands of the developer rather than the planning authority's archaeologist because of the long standing outline planning permission. No geophysical survey was undertaken to supplement Aspinall's 1978 survey due to the above constraints. The Archive will be deposited in Skipton Museum.

The agreed project design concentrated on specific objectives: (a) the nature of street frontage development; (b) inter-relationship of the moat and ancillary ditches; (c) the character of early settlement on the site; (d) interior and exterior platform activity; (e) and the environmental potential of the moat deposits.

a.) Recording undertaken in January 1997 had suggested undated structural activity fronting on to West Street on a different alignment to the platform and modern structures; this area of the site would be totally destroyed by the construction of the access road to the new development. Excavation in Trench 1 was to provide evidence on settlement patterns away from the platform, a 5 m x 5 m trench also including the re-excavation of MAP's Trench 12 with extension areas to the north and south.

b.) Trench 2 was opened with the objective of determining the relationship of a number of ditches located both in the 1978–81 and 1997 excavations, and to examine in closer detail the presence, alignment, date, and function of a

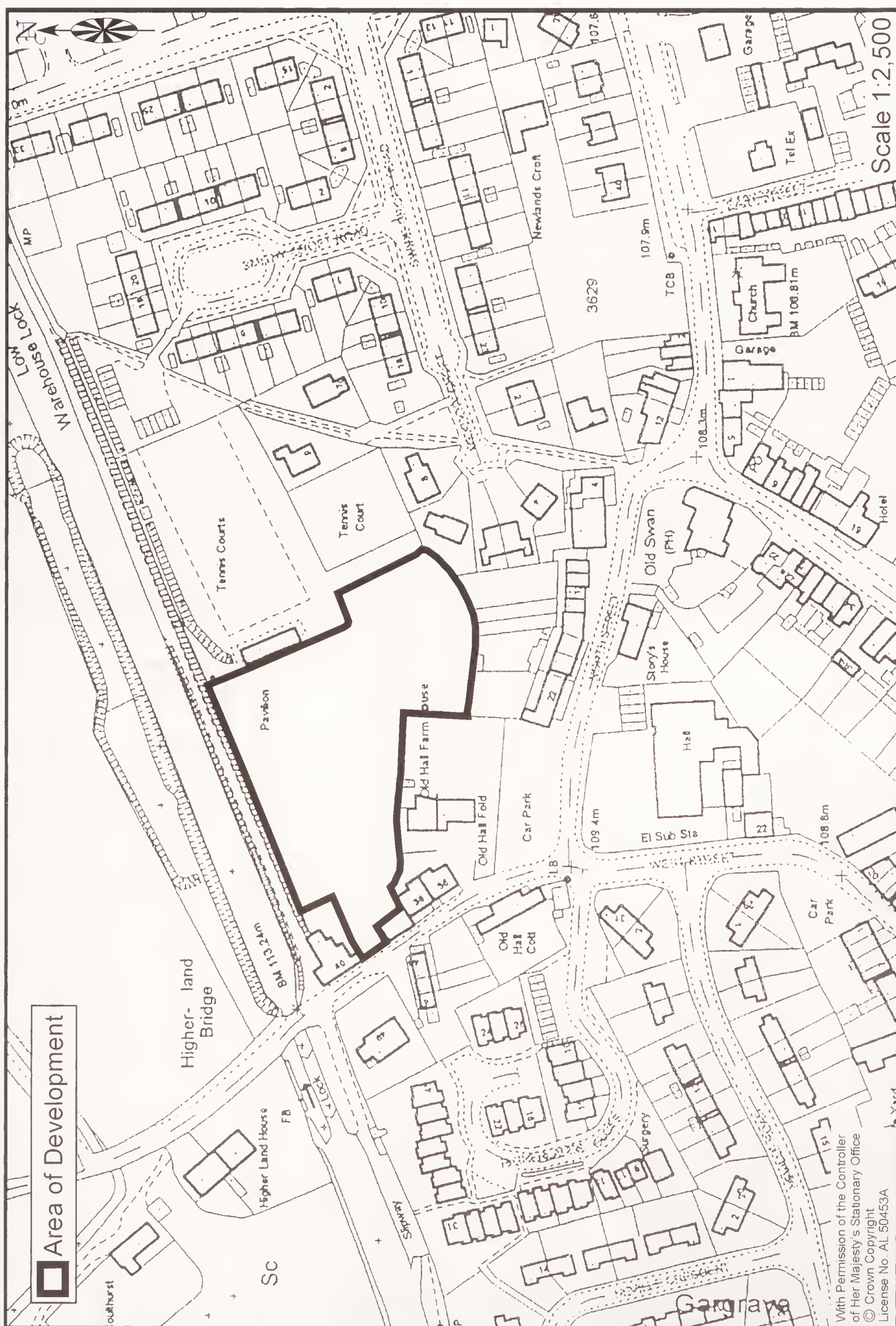


Figure 2. Site location.

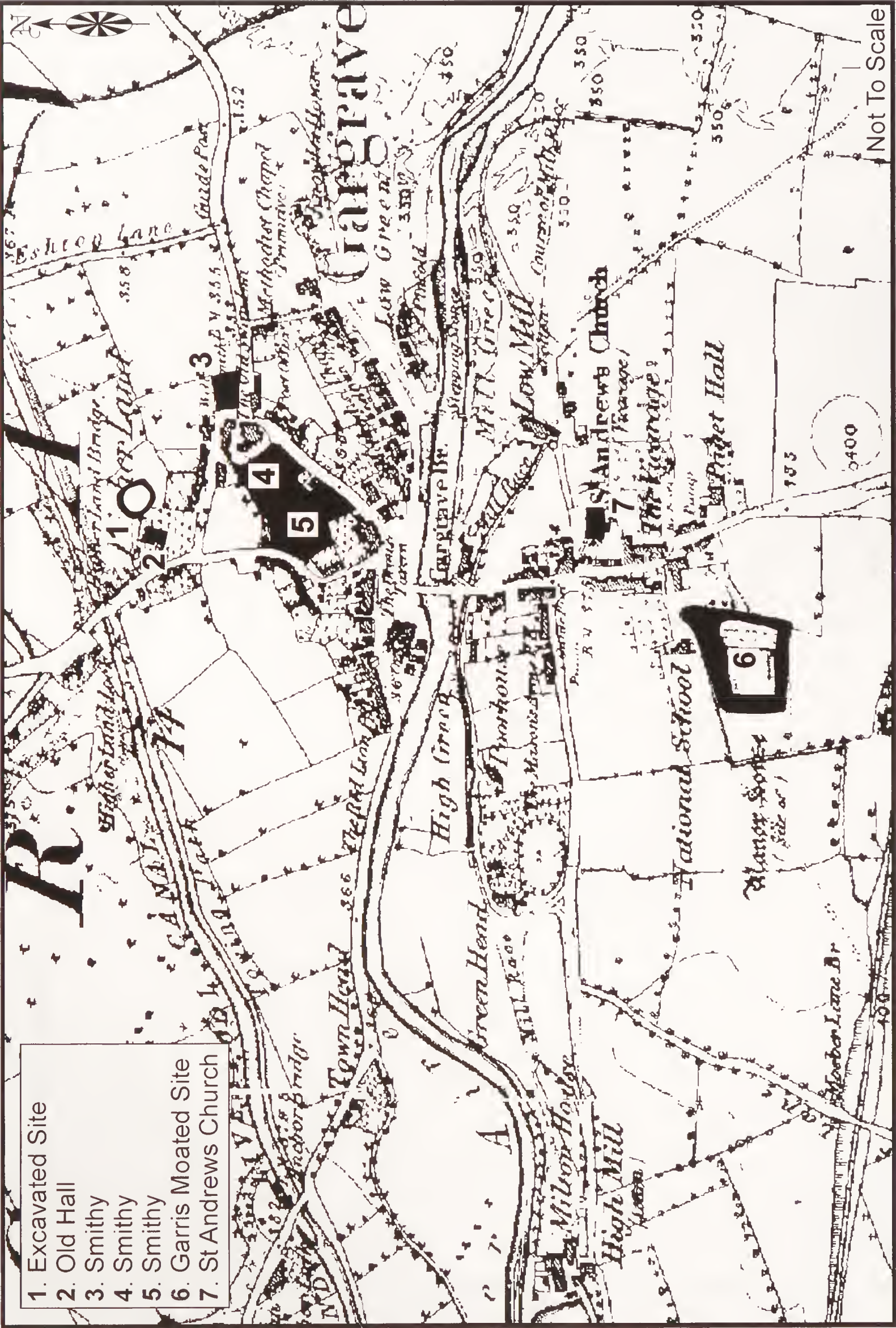


Figure 3. First edition Ordnance Survey Map (1852-1853) and the historic context.



Figure 4. View of site. Facing south.

number of ditches located to the south and east of the platform.

c.) Initial occupation of the platform was recorded as of early thirteenth-century date, but it was clear that potentially large areas of the platform had not been fully excavated. Trenches 2 and 3 were excavated into previously backfilled trenches on the platform to ascertain whether previous excavation had reached natural deposits.

d.) The actual alignment/presence of the moat to the north of the platform and any further post moat activity was to be resolved by re-excavation of the platform and moat area.

e.) Previous excavations at the site had failed to address the importance of environmental deposits surviving within the fills of the moat; therefore a sampling programme was instigated.

THE 1997 EXCAVATIONS

During April – May 1997 excavations were undertaken in advance of the development of the West Street Site (Fig. 5).

TRENCH 1

Phase 1

Cutting the natural clays were three linear features (1032, 1034 and 1021), interpreted as the result of agricultural activity. Cut 1021 was dated by associated pottery to the twelfth/thirteenth century. This context also contained 363g of iron slag, which was considered to be the result of small-scale smithing.

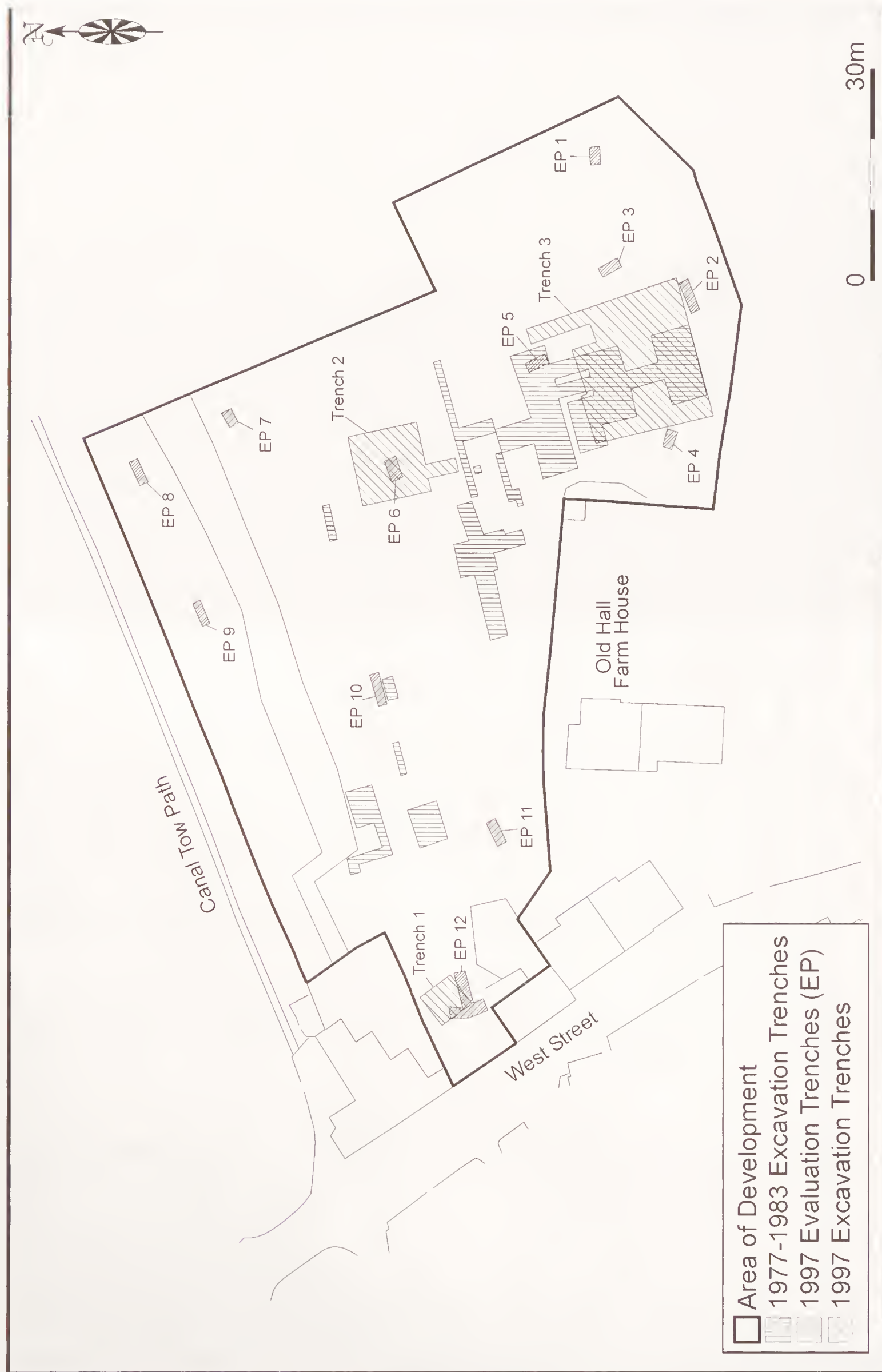


Figure 5. Excavation and evaluation areas.

Phase 2

Sealing the agricultural horizon was a lime kiln consisting of a circular structure (1030) constructed of seven courses of river-worn cobbles, with an interruption on the west side representing a flue. The structure was set within a pit 3 m in diameter and 0.50 m deep (1035). The only dating evidence recovered consisted of four sherds of Gritty Ware, indicating that the upper fill was twelfth/thirteenth century or later in date. Environmental samples recorded traces of stinging nettle and a number of unidentified invertebrate remains.

Phase 3

Phase 3 was represented by a maze of modern service trenches (cuts 1007, 1010, 1012, 1014, 1016 and 1018). Most of the dateable material was identified as modern (twentieth century), but residual medieval pottery was also recovered

TRENCH 2 (Fig. 6 a–b)

A machine section was cut to create a continuous section through both the mound and moat (Fig. 7). Trench 2 served the dual purpose of evaluating the depth of the mound deposits and the extent of Williams' trenches.

Phase 1

Excavation showed conclusively that the platform and the moat were contemporary. In this area of the site mound material was seen to have slipped back into the moat (2037 and 2036) a feature also recorded by Williams. The moat was a deep V-shaped cut with an approximate 45° angle, stepped on the southern side measuring 8 m wide and 1.7 m deep (2050 ; Fig. 7).

Deposit 2037 contained a relatively large amount of metalwork (three iron nails, an iron horseshoe, a possible iron hook and two iron fragments). These appear to represent dumping rather than any concentrated industrial activity. Gritty Ware dated 2037 to the thirteenth century or later. Sampling provided only limited environmental information.

Previous excavation of the moat had recorded a phase of recutting. Excavation in Trench 2 also confirmed this trend. The recut (2042) was 1.1 m deep and at least 2 m in width. The fill (2040) was rich in metalwork, containing a residual copper coin of Constantine II (small find 8), a fragment of iron blade (small find 11) and a smaller number of iron and lead fragments. The presence of three Gritty Ware sherds within 2040 suggested a twelfth/thirteenth-century or later date for the re-cut.

Phase 2

A cobble structure (2010; Fig. 8) cut into the uppermost fill of the moat consisted of four courses of cobbles, intermixed with limestone blocks. In appearance it is very similar to Building G excavated by Williams, who recorded that the upper courses were fire-cracked and reddened. There are strong parallels with the lime kiln recorded in Trench 1, it seems probable that Building G, the lime kiln in Trench 1 and Structure 2010 all represent a post moat phase of industrial activity, producing lime either for land improvement or for the construction of the Old Hall and associated ancillary buildings.

Phase 3

Pit 2030 was located in the southern area of the trench, cutting into the mound makeup (2020 and 2018). No dating evidence was recovered but a large amount of burnt material, indicating burning *in situ*, plus well-preserved animal bone, along

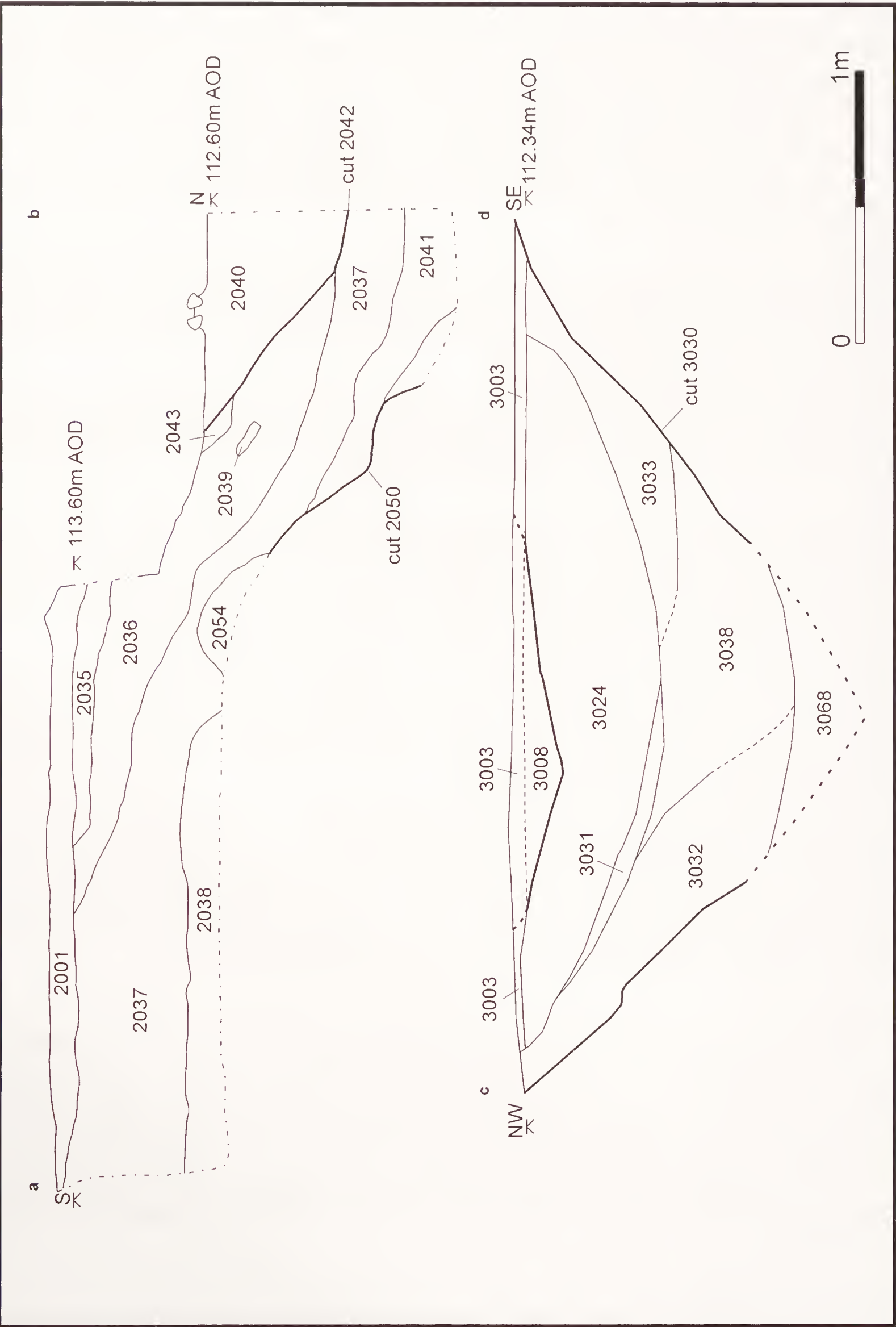


Figure 6. Moat sections.

with environmental evidence suggested that the pit's primary use was as a place in which to burn refuse. The molluscan evidence suggested that the pit was then left open for some time, ?*bidentatum* and *discus rotundatus* indicating damp conditions, perhaps under rubbish.

Wall 2003/4 was constructed of limestone faced on both sides with a rubble core. The wall had been built on top of the moat, and had partly subsided for that reason. A dump of cobbles (2008) on the north side of the wall may have been intended to provide support against further subsidence. The wall shared the north to south alignment of the existing wall line of Old Hall Farm and continued into the southern baulk of the trench. The wall turned a right angle in Trench 2 and then ran westwards. During topsoil stripping a second right angle was detected, turning the wall back towards the existing boundary of Old Hall Farm. This would suggest that wall 2003/4 was a boundary associated with Old Hall Farm, and would have doubled the area presently enclosed.

No dating evidence was found within the matrix of the wall itself, however it post-dated deposit 2009, which was post-medieval in date.

The outer facing of wall 2003/4 was of a higher quality on the inner face, leading to the conclusion that it had served as a boundary wall, whose aesthetic aspect was important. It may also have served a defensive purpose judging from the size and high quality of the build.

Phase 4

Trench 2 was sealed by modern plough soil (2001 and 2002).

TRENCH 3 (Fig. 6 c–d)

Trench 3 was positioned in order to assess the nature and extent of Williams' previous excavation, as well as to investigate the formation process of the mound and moat, and to establish the nature of the ditch located in Evaluation Trench 5.

Phase 1

The first archaeological activity in this trench was represented by the moat (3030). The recording of the lowest levels was difficult due to the observation of Health and Safety requirements. However, excavations did record a V-shaped cut in excess of 6.5 m wide and 2.6 m deep, with c. 45° sides falling to a pointed base (Figs. 7 and 9).

The basal (3068) and secondary (3032) fills were both the result of natural erosion and gradual infilling after the initial digging of the moat. Removal of fill 3068 saw the section fill with water, demonstrating that the lower level of the moat was below the water table, suggesting that the moat originally held water. The presence of Gritty Ware sherds in fill 3068 suggested a date in the twelfth or thirteenth century for the deposition of this context.

A dump deposit (3038) contained large rounded cobbles and animal bone, and was sealed by further dumped material (3031) rich in charcoal and also containing the largest ceramic group recovered from any single context. Consisting of twelve sherds of Gritty Ware and three sherds of Tees Valley Ware, the group of pottery suggested a thirteenth/fourteenth-century date for this episode of moat activity. A single iron nail was also recovered, along with animal bone. Deposit 3033 overlay 3038; the result of the erosion of the moat sides, it also contained Gritty Ware sherds of the twelfth/thirteenth century.

Phase 2

Sealing 3031 and 3033 was a thick layer of silty clay with angular and sub-rounded



Figure 7. Trench 2. View of platform and moat. Facing south.

cobbles (3024). Interpreted as a general phase in the filling of the moat or deliberate backfilling.

The deposit at the top of the moat (context 3003/7) contained a number of red gritstone fragments and metal finds which included eleven iron nails, two iron tools, a copper alloy clasp, a lead weight, a copper alloy buckle. Pottery evidence was mostly twelfth to thirteenth century in date, but three sherds of Humber Ware pushed the date forward into at least the fifteenth century.

Phase 3

To the south of the moat section a series of postholes 3025, 3027, 3028, 3051 and 3070 post-dated 3048, a previous agricultural horizon. Taken together the postholes probably form a fence line, if not a temporary structure.

The line of postholes was superseded by an L-shaped arrangement of two ditches (3036 and 3049) which echoed the line of the postholes, suggesting that they were the replacement of a previous fenced boundary by ditches. The presence of a corner entrance is indicative of the management of stock.

Further linears (3037, 3045/4 and 3043) appeared to represent previous land divisions, and were all of a relatively recent date.

Phase 4

The entirety of Trench 2 was sealed by ploughsoil (3002) and modern topsoil (3001). The trenches previously opened by Williams were visible cut through the topsoil at various points. They were recorded in order to establish whether Williams had bottomed the archaeological deposits he investigated. The evidence from the sections



Figure 8. Structure 2010 and 2003/4. Facing south.

suggested that Williams did in fact reach the limit of archaeological deposits in his excavations.

Williams' excavations immediately to the east recorded a building measuring 10 m x 2 m (Building E1), which he interpreted as a smithy due to the quantities of iron slag recovered. Twenty sherds of twelfth/thirteenth-century pottery were recovered from Building E2.

SUMMARY OF SITE DEVELOPMENT

The following summary combines the excavation results from both Williams' and MAP's excavations, with the limited historical evidence to support the interpretation.

PHASE 1 (PRE-MOAT)

The earliest evidence for structural activity comes from the twelfth/thirteenth century when the site appears to have been used for agricultural, industrial and domestic purposes. Trench 1 from 1997 located a number of linear agricultural ditches, one of which contained small quantities of metallurgical debris from the smithing of iron, in the form of smithing hearth bottoms and hammerscale.

Domestic architecture was illustrated by at least three timber buildings of posthole construction (Buildings A1, B1 and C1) and a latrine pit. All of these features were built on what in Phase 2 formed the moated platform. No evidence existed for these features having been completely covered by the platform and if so this would suggest



Figure 9. Section through moat. Facing north-west.

that an area of higher land existed naturally before the creation of the moat (Fig. 10).

The 1997 excavations illustrated that the construction of the moat and the creation of the platform were contemporary, and yet Buildings A1 and C1 are replaced in Williams Phase 2 (the moat phase) on exactly the same alignment and more importantly in the same position, suggesting that their predecessors were visible and not sealed under the newly constructed platform.

PHASE 2 MOAT AND PLATFORM

According to Williams during the thirteenth century the site underwent a massive change in organisation and prestige. Buildings A1 and C1 were remodelled (Buildings A2 and C2) and a new building, Building F, was constructed; this like A2 and C2, was of posthole construction, however only a small section was observed and recorded. A sub-circular moat was excavated measuring up to 8 m in width and 2.6 m deep at its widest and deepest. The 1997 excavation confirmed its alignment to the north and south of the platform but recorded narrower widths and shallower depths, and also confirmed the premise that it had originally held water. Environmental sampling of the moat deposits provided a poor return of information (Fig. 11).

A section cut through the moat by Williams recorded the remains of what he interpreted as bridge components (F200 and 206), suggesting that access to the platform was on the north-east side of the moat.

During the life of the moat changes to the interior were also implemented. Building C2 was remodelled, and is interpreted as an aisled hall measuring 16 m x 7 m of

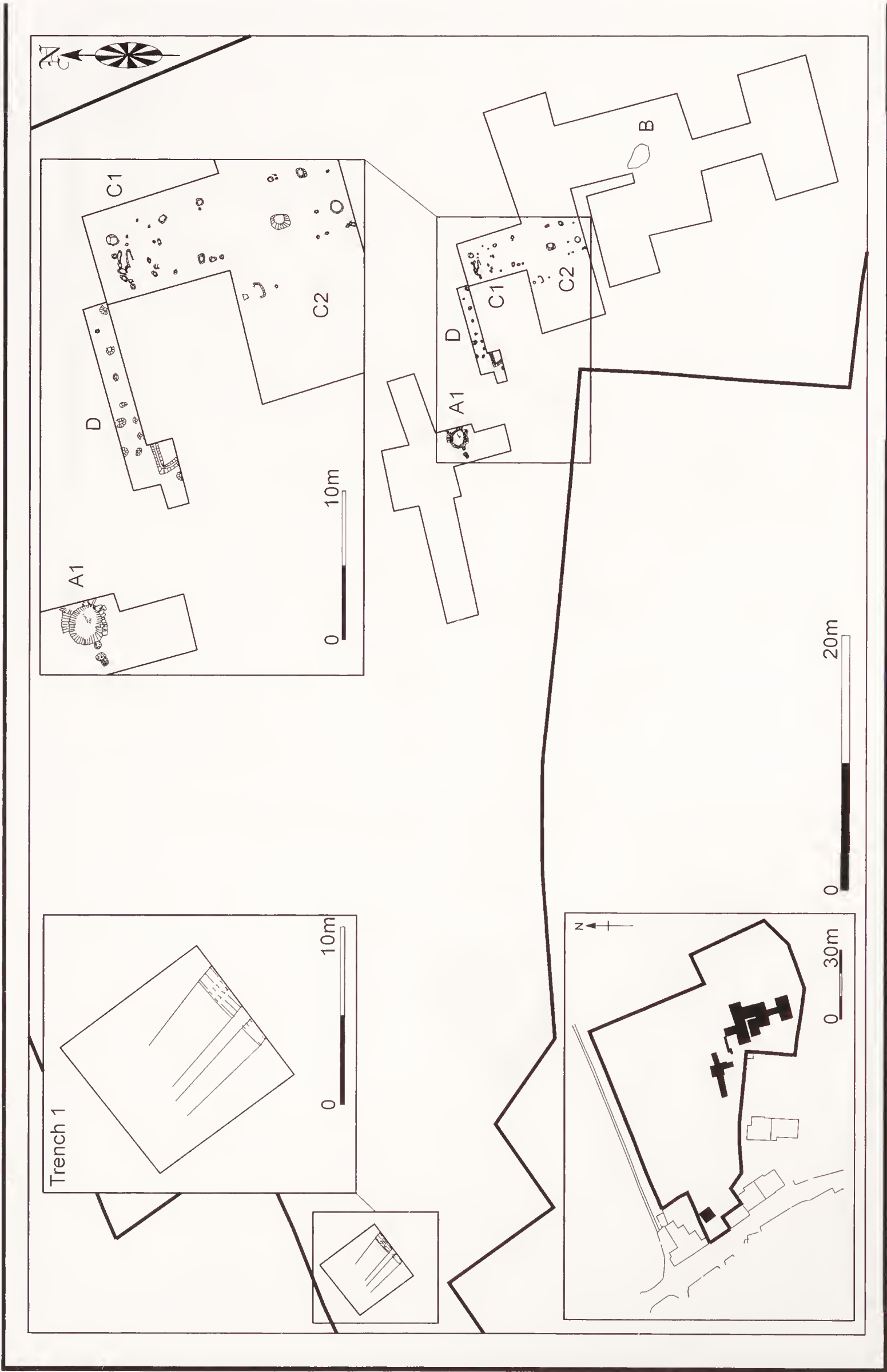


Figure 10. Phase 1. Pre-moat activity.

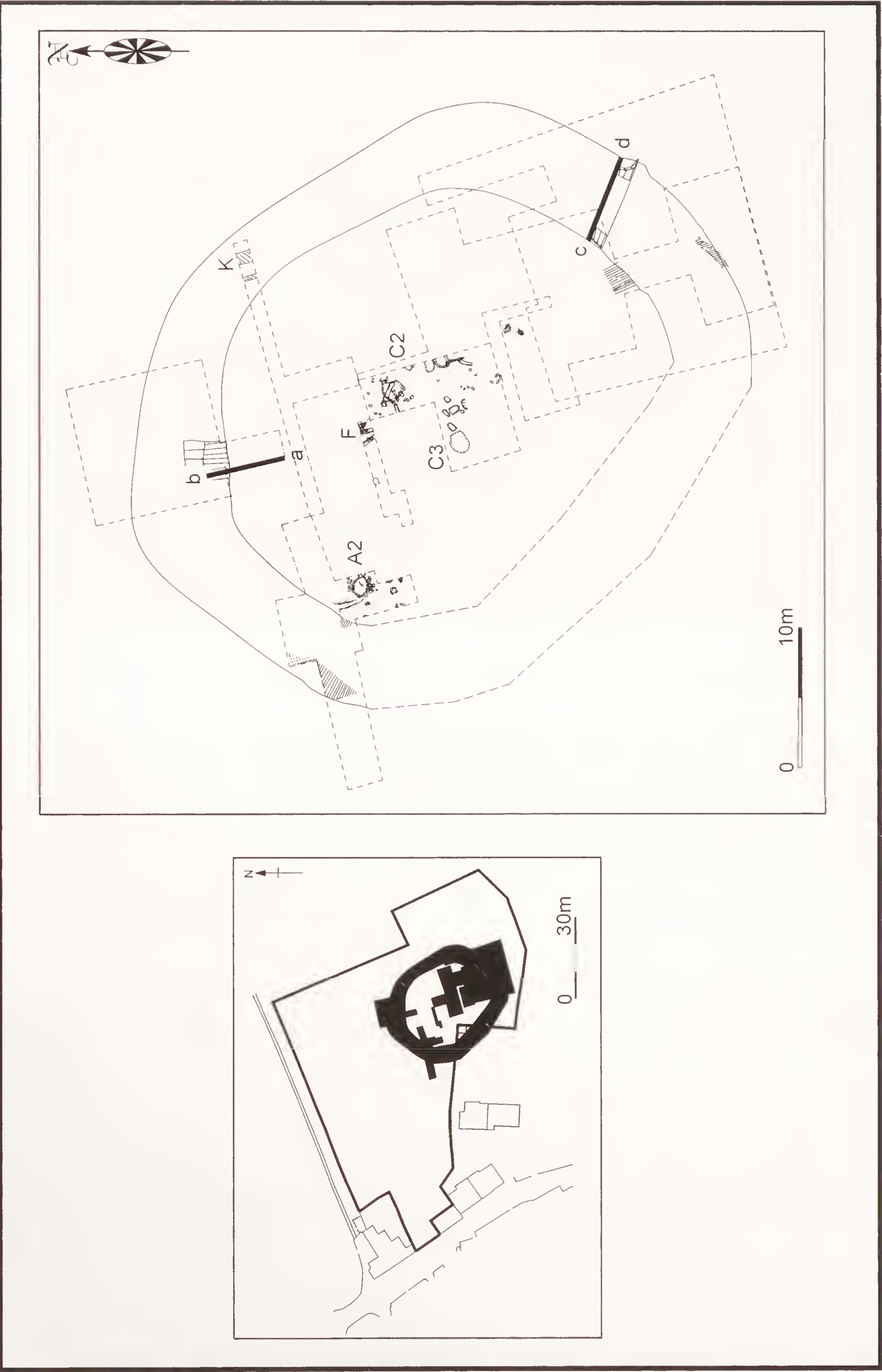


Figure 11. Phase 2. Moat activity.

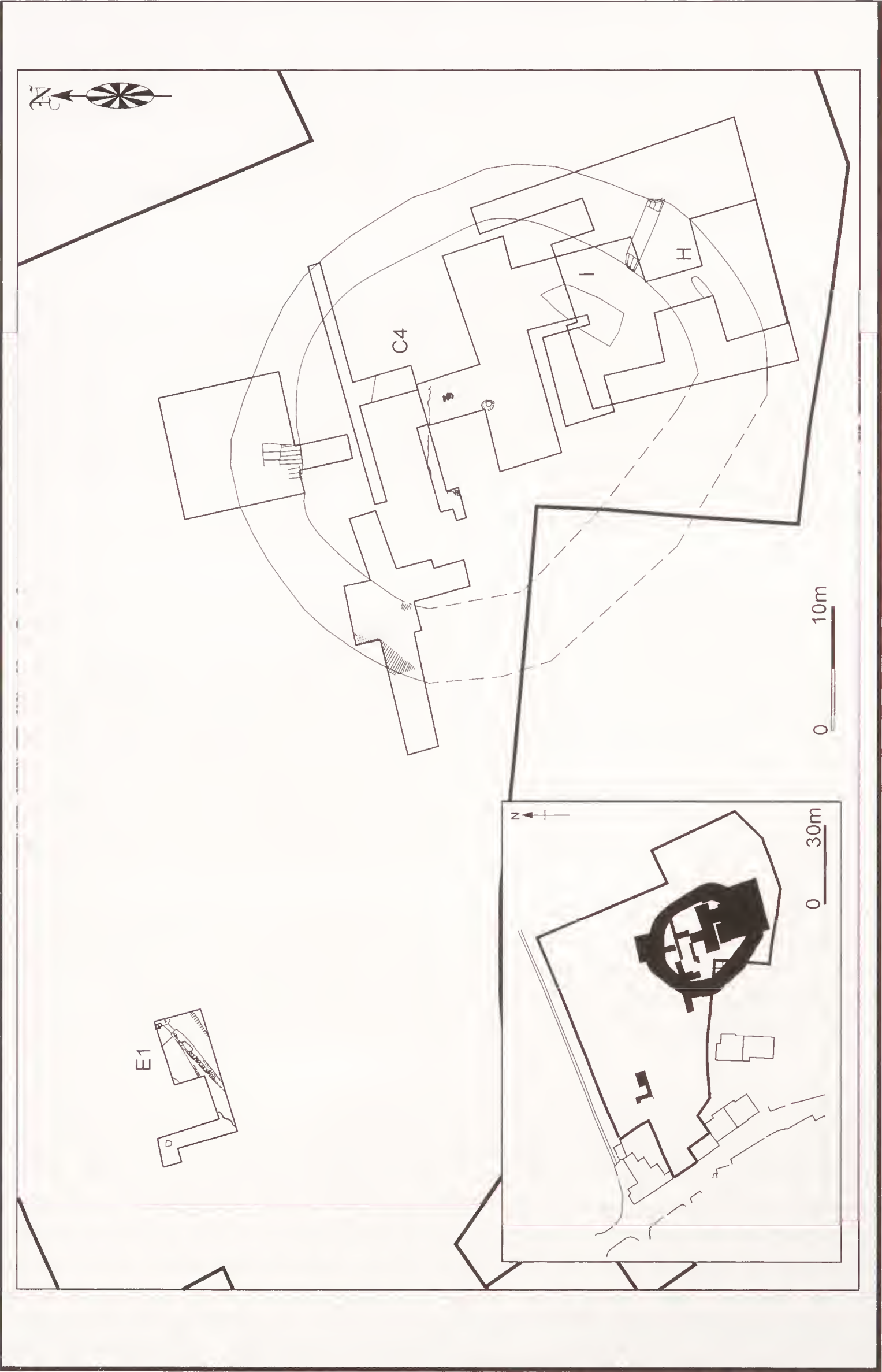


Figure 12. Phase 4. Realignment activity.

posthole construction. This building underwent further changes with a 4 m extension to the north bringing to an end the life of Building F and illustrating a change in architectural styles. By the late thirteenth century Building C3 was a hall with a crosswing, constructed of plinths and aisle posts. This illustrated a major change in construction techniques on the site and reflected the changing medieval function of houses, away from inaccessibility of rooms to domestic comfort.

Less than fifty percent of the platform was excavated and it is possible that further structures may have existed outside of those areas investigated, therefore the full structural plan of the platform is unknown.

PHASE 3 (RECUTTING OF THE MOAT)

After a period of fairly natural silting and obvious slippage from the interior of the platform attempts were made to clear an area around the internal perimeter of the moat to ease this problem. This event may have coincided with the recutting of the moat now much narrower in width (5.5 m wide) and shallower in depth (1 m deep) and probably dry. The entrance appears to have remained unchanged, although it is unclear whether or not the bridge was rebuilt or replaced by a causeway.

Williams dated the re-cutting of the moat to the later thirteenth century.

PHASE 4 (RE-ALIGNMENT)

Earlier structural activity on the site had been aligned to the eastern and western boundaries of Smithy Crofts (i.e. NNW to SSE) (Fig. 12).

It seems clear that Building C was the main focus of domestic settlement on the site, as it underwent a series of modifications and aggrandisement during its lifetime. As Building C4, it consisted of a rectangular wing 10 m x 5 m in size to the north of an aisled hall measuring 11 m x 10 m. Pottery suggested that Building C4 was in use in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, the period when changes to the moat were also being undertaken. This new build also followed the change of alignment seen in Building 1 (which survived only as a clay floor) but favoured that of the northern boundary of the Old Hall.

Further slight modifications were made to Building C4 creating Building C5. Williams' interpretation of the use of stone in this build is incorrect. His belief that Building C5 was built up against a stone boundary wall is flawed, as wall 2003/4 is much later in date and totally unrelated to the life of the moated platform.

Williams' realignment phase was of late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century date.

PHASE 5 (POST-MOAT)

Buildings G1, Structure 1030 and Structure 2010 (Fig. 8), are interpreted as probably lime kilns. G1 and Structure 2010 were constructed into the silted up moat deposits in the north of the site and Structure 1030 was located further to the north west. Building K interpreted as a dairy was also constructed into the moat. Originally Building J was seen as part of the general reorganisation of the interior of the platform during the final stages of moated activity. It is clear when considering other more recent evidence that this building along with a number of others seen as moat activity actually represent an interesting, late medieval period when the site took on an industrial role. Building J1/J2 interpreted as a post mill also appears to be part of this reorganisation of spatial use. The reasons for this change in use may be explained by

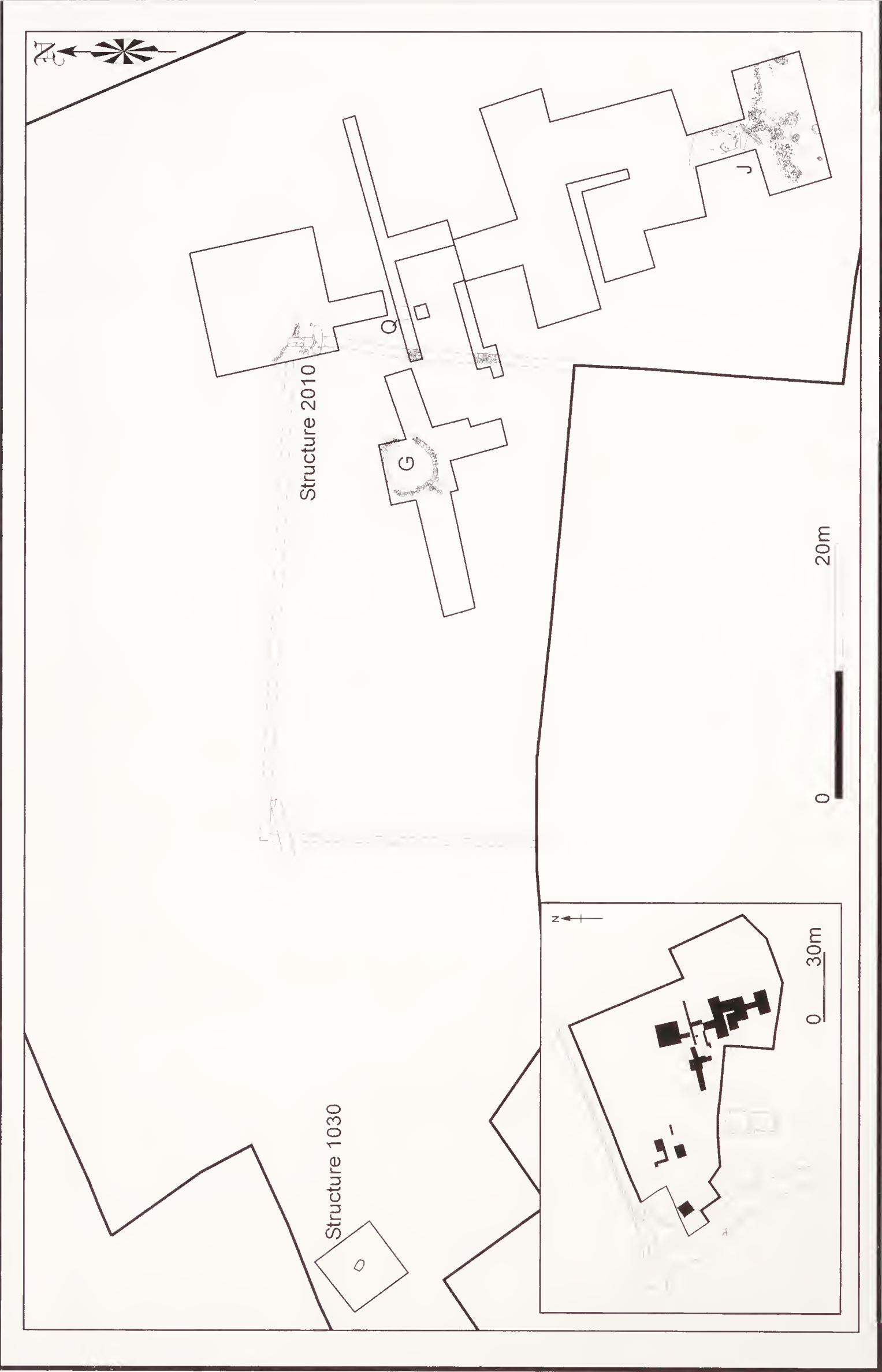


Figure 13. Phase 5. Post-moat activity.

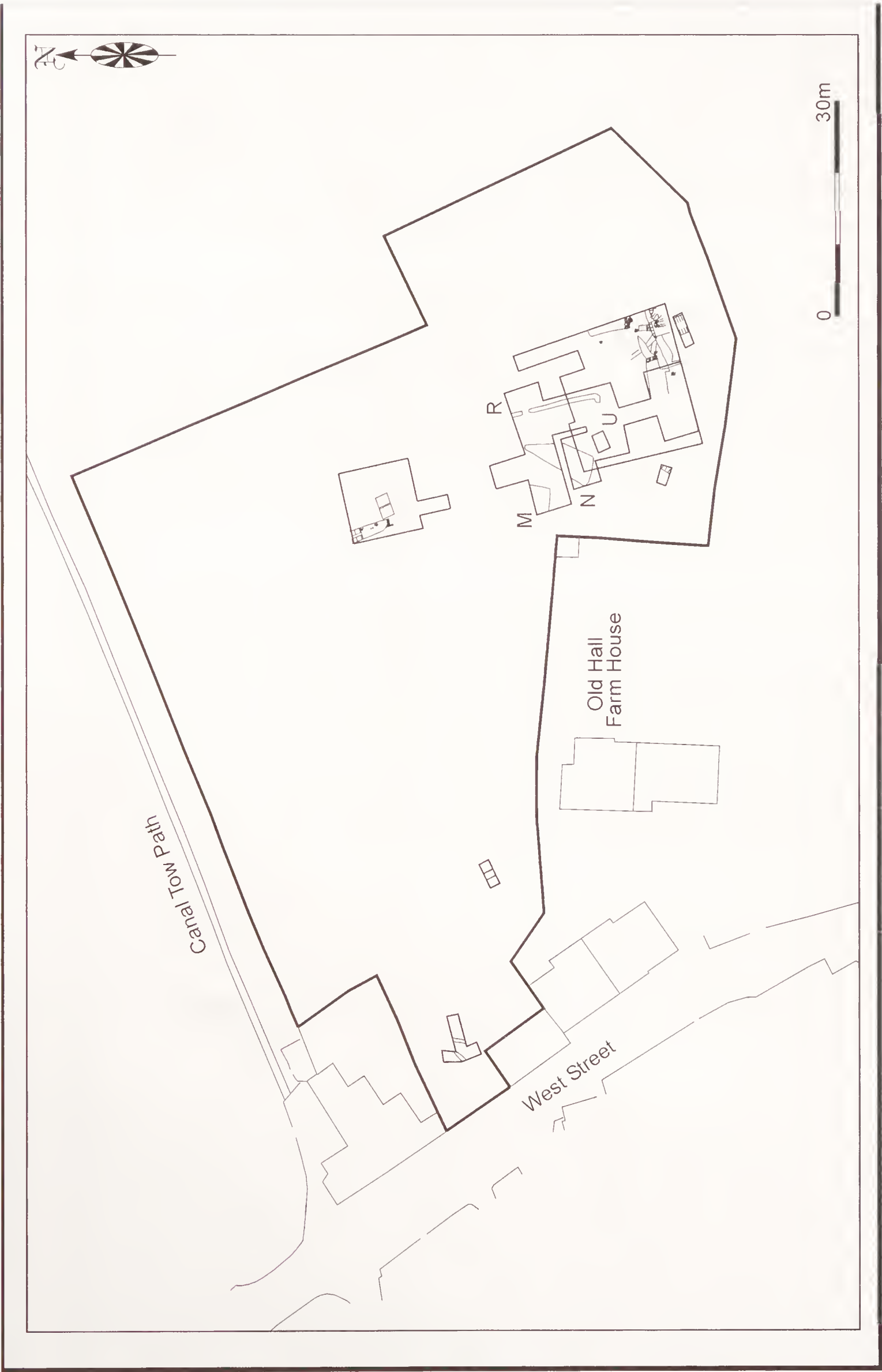


Figure 14. Phase 6. Agricultural activity.

the movement of the Manor House from the confined nature of the moated site to the present day position of Old Hall to the south of the site. Old Hall is recorded as being established by the seventeenth century as the new manorial seat, but it seems likely that it had relocated by the fifteenth century. Although the historical records do not reveal the reason for the demise of the moated site, it is possible that the site was destroyed by Scottish raids. The former moated site appears to have been backfilled and the area used for construction activities associated with the Old Hall, including the lime kilns. The lime kilns appear to be all of the single flue type and would be scored as clustered, due to the fact they are located within a 100 metres of each other (Fig. 13).

Later activity is illustrated by the creation of a well constructed boundary wall, which formed part of the Old Hall property boundary.

PHASE 6 (MODERN ACTIVITY)

Evidence for ploughing existed in the form of ridge and furrow, and was aligned to the Old Hall rather than the medieval field system. William's Building R continued the tradition of Smithing on the site. The long tradition of smithing is probably the reason behind the documentary evidence of Smithy Crofts, a name which existed until the nineteenth century. The Leeds Liverpool canal was constructed in 1774 (Fig. 14).

THE FINDS

POTTERY *by* M. R. Stephens

The pottery assemblage consisted of 130 sherds, of which 1 was Romano-British, 93 were medieval, 24 were post-medieval and 12 which were nineteenth century or modern. The sherds were examined by hand lens and then divided into identifiable types based on their fabric and any decorative treatment. For the earliest 'types' from the site, these groups are broad, but it is possible to be more specific with some of the post medieval sherds. The small size of the assemblage makes quantitative analysis difficult (Fig. 15).

Romano-British

A single Romano-British sherd was recovered (2021), in a reduced, calcite gritted fabric with calcite and chalk inclusions. With no specific clues from the form of the sherd it is not possible to give a more specific date.

Medieval

Pottery from the 1977–81 excavations at the site has been previously examined by S. Moorhouse, who identified seventeen medieval pottery types. The assemblage from the 1997 excavation divided into five types, of which the gritty ware tradition is the most numerically important. Gritty ware was produced from the late eleventh century until the mid thirteenth century. A number of the less gritty sherds belonging to the East Pennine tradition would be slightly later, thirteenth to fourteenth century. There is a substantial component of Tees Valley ware within the assemblage, including both cooking pots and jugs; this fabric was first published after the 1983 site report (Evans and Heslop 1985, 68–9.) A single York Glazed ware jug sherd is represented. Late medieval Humber ware accounted for three sherds, and four sherds of medieval pottery were not assigned to a specific source.

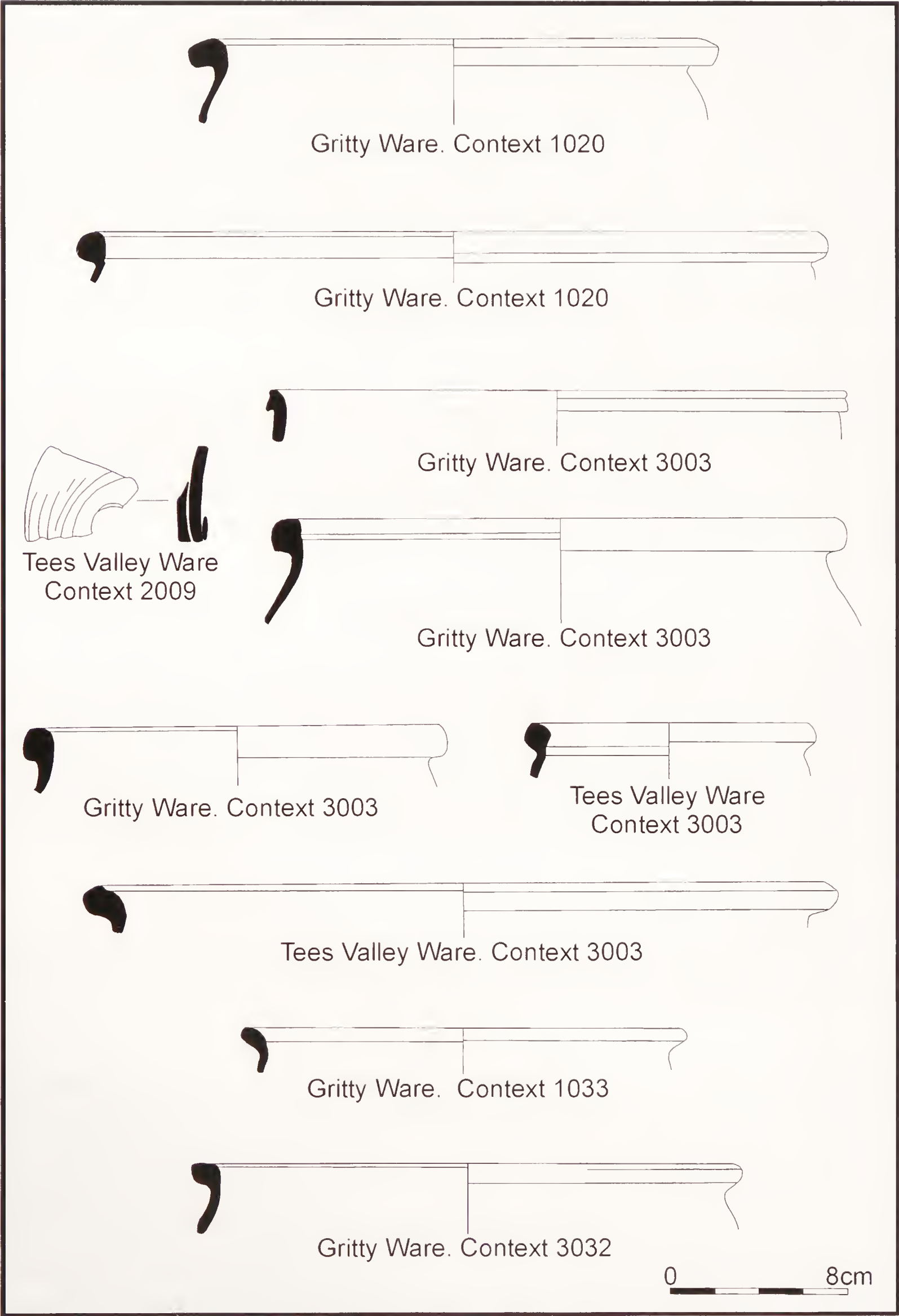


Figure 15. Pottery.

Post-medieval

Pottery of this date is represented by Cistercian ware, black ware, yellow ware, red glazed slip ware, red coarse ware and Nottingham type stone ware. These range from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in date.

Modern

The modern pottery consisted of factory made white bodied earthen wares.

Discussion

The Romano-British calcite gritted sherd, meaningless by itself, supports the concept of a Roman presence on the site, implied by the location of metalwork and coins from the Roman period.

The medieval pottery is derived from a number of sources, none of them strictly local; the Tees Valley, York area, the West Riding and, in the later medieval period, the Humber basin. This bears out the conclusions of the 1983 report, which set Gargrave at the fringes of a number of pottery supplying traditions. Only a small number of glazed jugs are present, cooking pots and jars accounting for the bulk of the forms. This suggests that food preparation and storage were probably being carried out adjacent to the area excavated, rather than food presentation. The date of the medieval assemblage shows a marked dropping away in activity from the fourteenth century on, and the single sixteenth-century Cistercian sherd confirms this decline.

The post-medieval pottery shows a background of activity at this time, as many of the sherds are abraded horticultural activity could be represented.

ANIMAL BONE *by* K. Dobney

Deposits from the excavations produced a very small assemblage of vertebrate remains, amounting to approximately twenty litres of bone. The pottery assemblage indicated that the material was dated to the medieval, post-medieval and early modern periods. Of the thirty bone bearing contexts, deposits from thirteen were either only dated to broad periods (i.e. medieval or post-medieval), or produced no dating information at all. Deposits from the remaining seventeen well-dated contexts produced material of twelfth/thirteenth (a total of five contexts), thirteenth/fourteenth (two contexts), fifteenth (three contexts), seventeenth/eighteenth (four contexts), nineteenth (two contexts) and twentieth-century date (one context).

The range of identified species recovered from the excavation is shown in Tables 1–5. The small size of the assemblage precluded detailed analysis of species quantification.

Table 1. Vertebrate remains from twelfth/thirteenth-century deposits. (Key: Frags - number of fragments, Meas - measurable, Mand - mandibles with teeth, Iso - isolated teeth).

Species	Frag	Meas	Mand	Iso
<i>Canis</i> f. domestic dog	1		1	-
<i>Equus</i> f. domestic horse	2	1	-	-
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i> (L.) roe deer	1	1	-	-

<i>Sus</i> f. domestic pig	*	*	*	*
<i>Bos</i> f. domestic cow	12	2	-	-
Caprovid sheep/goat	3	-	-	-

*Complete juvenile pig skeleton

Table 2. Vertebrate remains from thirteenth/fourteenth-century deposits. (Key: Frags - number of fragments, Meas - measurable, Mand - mandibles with teeth, Iso - isolated teeth).

Species	Frags	Meas	Mand	Iso
<i>Bos</i> f. domestic cow	2	1	-	-
Caprovid sheep/goat	1	-	-	-

Table 3. Vertebrate remains from fifteenth-century deposits. (Key: Frags - number of fragments, Meas - measurable, Mand -mandibles with teeth, Iso - isolated teeth).

Species	Frags	Meas	Mand	Iso
<i>Canis</i> f. domestic Dog	2	1	-	-
<i>Bos</i> f. domestic Cow	6	-	-	4
Caprovid sheep/goat	1	-	-	-

Overall, preservation, colour and angularity were recorded as ‘variable’ and dog gnawing was noted on many of the large mammal remains. This may suggest a significant component of reworked or redeposited material present in the assemblage.

PLANT AND INVERTEBRATE REMAINS *by* J. Carrott, A. Hall and F. Large

Fifteen samples of sediment were collected but given the very limited amount of preserved material and the limitations on dating of the contexts which were productive, the results obtained through the assessment did not merit further analysis.

Three contexts (2031, 2039 and 2040) yielded small numbers of charred cereals (mainly bread wheat, oats and barley) but plant remains were otherwise limited to a small amount of charcoal. Sample 17 – (2031) yielded a small assemblage of molluscs of limited interpretative value. Samples taken from the moat were classified as of no environmental value.

THE METALWORK *by* H. E. M Cool

Sixty items of metalwork were found as a result of excavation and 315 came from the programme of metal-detecting as summarised in Table 1. Despite this wealth of material, it is of limited value in helping refine either the date of the activity on the site or our understanding of its status or nature. This is partly because much of the stratified material was either fragmentary or undiagnostic, and partly because the majority of the metal detected material was of relatively modern date. In the light of this, it would be inappropriate to publish here a full catalogue of all the material.

Instead a summary is offered, and only the more diagnostic pieces have been catalogued. The report concentrates on Roman or medieval material, though the opportunity is also taken to publish two later items of intrinsic interest.

Table 4: Metalwork from Gargrave

Method of discovery	Coins	Copper alloy	Lead Alloy	Iron	Total
Excavation	1	7	8	44	60
Metal detecting	7	22	41	245	315
Total	8	29	49	289	375

Of the excavated material, forty-nine items came from the moat fills with the remainder coming from less usefully stratified contexts such as recently re-deposited material, the fills of service trenches etc. The moat material in the main consists of iron nails or fragments from them. There is also a small fragment from a horse-shoe together with several horse-shoe nails. Two small pointed iron shanks may originally have come from awls, and a figure of eight fitting (no. 1), may have come from a light suspension chain.

By far the bulk of the metal detected material is of relatively recent date. This is clearly indicated by the wealth of buttons recovered. There were twelve in total including examples made by brazing together two hollow domes (Biddle and Cook 1990, type C), flat blazer or livery buttons (*ibid*, type F) and a single example of a suspender button (*ibid*, Type E). All of which are types common during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To these may be added a nineteenth-century clog fastener and two eighteenth-century shoe buckles. The metal detected ironwork is dominated by nails and bar fragments, but also includes material such as horseshoes and their nails and a key handle. Ironwork tends to be less easily independently datable than copper alloy items, but there is nothing in the assemblage which could not be of relatively recent date.

Amongst the non-ferrous metal-detected finds, however, there are a handful which relate to the Roman and medieval occupation on the site. The only Roman item is a fragment of a fantail brooch (no. 2) for which a date of the late first to early second centuries can be suggested as it is of a type in use by the late 70s (Cool and Philo 1998, 43 no. 47, fig. 10).

Three different medieval buckles forms are represented, all of which were in use during the fourteenth century. The types with a moulded pointed pin rest (no. 3) and straight moulded pin bar (no. 4) are common forms (see for example Hinton 1990, fig. 131 nos. 1158-9, 1161, 1166, 1170-1). The small D-shaped buckle no. 5 is a less distinctive form but may well have been contemporary as a very similar buckle was found in a late fourteenth to early fifteenth-century context at Winchester (Hinton 1990, 519 no. 1177, fig. 131). All of these buckles would have fitted onto narrow belts. The strap-end no. 6 would have fitted a wider strap but could well have been broadly contemporary with the buckles as several were also found in fourteenth-century contexts at Winchester (Hinton 1990, 505 nos. 1087-90).

No. 7 is probably the swivel from the purse mount. As such it may be dated to the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century as metal purse frames were fashionable for a relatively short period of time (Ward-Perkins 1940, 159).

The cloth seal no. 8 is a privy seal that would have been attached by a clothier or weaver rather than an alnage seal that would have been attached to show the appropriate duty had been paid on the cloth. It is likely that this particular example is of sixteenth or seventeenth-century date. Finally we have the unusual find of a seventeenth-century powder measure.

Catalogue

- 1 Swivel loop; iron. Figure of eight with central knob junction. Length 45 mm. (Fe 8: 3003)
- 2 Brooch; copper alloy. Upper part of fantail with broken cast headloop, short wings with semi-cylindrical hinge cover behind; bow expanding out to broken diamond-shaped plate with ring and dot cell retaining traces of decayed enamel. Present length 20 mm, width of wings 14 mm. (Metal detected east of TR3)
- 3 Buckle frame; copper alloy. D-shaped with moulded pointed pin rest and straight attachment bar. Length 16 mm, width 23 mm. (Metal detected TR3 spoil heap)
- 4 Buckle; copper alloy. Rectangular frame with straight moulded pin bar and vertical mouldings on outer faces of frame. D-sectioned pin with small edge mouldings at junction with frame. Small fragment of buckle plate still attached to cross bar. Length 18 mm, width 14 mm. (Metal detected east of TR3)
- 5 Buckle frame; copper alloy. D-shaped with grooved pointed pin rest and straight attachment bar. Length 16 mm, width 17 mm. (Metal detected TR3 spoil)
- 6 Strap end. Approximately square sheet bent in half to form rectangular strap end with two holes punched through from upper face. Upper face decorated with incised grooves to form a elongated hexagon and zig-zag pattern. Dimensions 29 x 16 mm. (Metal detected south-west of TR2)
- 7 Purse mount swivel; copper alloy. Cast oval loop above oval-section block with three horizontal mouldings. Circular-sectioned swivel below. Length 65 mm., maximum width 20 mm. (Metal detected east of TR3)
- 8 Cloth seal; lead alloy. Two part seal with circular discs linked by bar, bent in two and rivet on one articulating with perforation on other. Moulded motif on front face - NA with privy mark or M with bar forming an A in second arm of M. Incised symbols on back - possibly 20 to one side of a vertical bar. Diameter of discs 18 mm, length 23 mm. (Metal detected TR3 spoil)
- 9 Powder measure; lead alloy. Oval cylinder with flat closed base, two circular rings projecting from base. Vertical casting flanges on either side above rings. Diameter 21 x 17 mm., height 18 mm. (Metal detected TR3 spoil)

CONCLUSIONS

Le Patourel's pioneering work on the moated sites of Yorkshire (Le Patourel 1973) still forms the basis for any review of moated sites in the county, providing the framework within which the West Street site should be considered.

The Moated Sites of Yorkshire considered the evidence for all moats known to exist in the county up to the early 1970s, along with the existing evidence from those of the county's moats that had been excavated up to that time. It also compared and contrasted that data with information from other counties.

Moats were defined as “*one or more islands surrounded by ditches which in antiquity were generally, though not invariably, filled with water*” (*ibid.*, 1). To qualify as a moat a feature should have a minimum width of 15 feet (4.5 m) in order to distinguish it from the slightly narrower boundary ditches that defined properties in areas where true moats were scarce or absent. The moat was normally of U-shaped profile, rather than V-shaped, was often revetted with stone, and sometimes had an internal bank topped with a hedge or wall.

A moat typology was produced according to the shape of sites, and based on the system for Cambridgeshire, modified to suit Yorkshire conditions. It was understood that the form of a moated site could represent several centuries of organic development, as well as the destruction of one or more of its elements by later agriculture.

Moats were generally identified as a lowland phenomenon, their distribution following river lines generally below the 200 foot contour. Holderness and the southern part of the Vale of York formed the heartlands of moats in Yorkshire. These two geographical areas, and the factor of altitude, coincided with geological factors, for in Yorkshire such lowlands generally have clay or drift deposits, meaning that there was plentiful surface water to feed into a moat.

Moated sites were usually situated either very near or within a village, and built by the owner of the manor, who of course might be ecclesiastical; other moats were constructed mainly by freemen. Sub-manorial moats were seen as either new assarts into waste in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, or land cleared earlier but leased out in this same period. In reality, most moats were associated with thirteenth or fourteenth-century assarting, with twelfth-century examples being rare, but most belonging to the later thirteenth century, the number constructed after 1325 tailing off dramatically.

Le Patourel concluded that for Yorkshire the construction of moated sites did not extend far down the social scale, the seigniorial class regarding them as more commodious than castles, whose construction was in any case severely limited by the crown. Within a moated enclosure a more comfortable life could be indulged, in the form of up-to-date buildings and spacious formal gardens, away from the constraints of castles whose main consideration was for defence. The owners of manors also were able to mobilise, or where necessary pay for, the labour involved in moat digging. If moats were generally the preserve of the rich, they were not however constructed at any price, and sites with underlying rock or dry chalk geology, where digging would have been prohibitively expensive, were seen as unsuitable.

Whereas moats were not designed to withstand a siege, they were an adequate defence against the prevailing lawlessness and feuding, copying from castles such features as gatehouses and drawbridges.

Two moated sites existed within Gargrave township. The one on West Street and the other at the Garris, south of the river Aire. This existed as an island, c. 30 m square, surrounded by a broad, leat-fed moat that incorporated probable fishponds on the southern and eastern sides (Gill 1988, 43). This location was associated with the Percy family, who held the land south of the river, land north of the river being held first by the de Longvillers, and later by the Nevilles. The presence of two separate holdings within Gargrave is suggested by the entry in the Domesday survey.

Le Patourel recorded the earthworks of two other moats within 5 km of Gargrave, at Elslack to the south, and Rylstone to the north-east, both being in village locations (Le Patourel 1973). The high status of the Elslack moat is illustrated by it being granted

a licence to crenelate in 1308 (*ibid.*, 124). The presence of these two moats, along with the Gargrave sites, illustrates the existence of a cluster of moats away from the main concentration in the south and east of the county.

To recap, the picture gained of moats in Yorkshire is of a broad spectrum of sites with varying functions, status of ownership and date of foundation, unified by their location within enclosures bounded by relatively broad, deep ditches. They were usually situated in a village, and on clay deposits so that an effective water-filled moat could be easily created. This last factor dictated that in Yorkshire moats were largely confined to areas below 200 feet in elevation.

It is now necessary to consider how the West Street site compares with similar sites within Yorkshire and establish its place in the regional pattern of moats.

At around 0.08 ha in size, the West Street moat was towards the lowest end of the size range established by Le Patourel, but typical for a Type A 1a example (Le Patourel 1973, fig. 1). With an initial width of 4-4.5 m, the moat was just within the minimum size to allow classification as a moat. The moat was wet, being cut through a deposit of gravel down to impermeable boulder clay. It is to be presumed that the moat diggers were aware of the presence of the boulder clay and its water-holding properties: otherwise the feature would have been a dry ditch, and scarcely classifiable as a moat at all.

The geographical location of the moat is anomalous, being above the 200 foot contour in a small group of outliers some 30 km outside the main group of moats. As we have seen, unlike much of upland Yorkshire the boulder clay at Gargrave was suitable to the creation of a moat. It is likely that another factor was at play, that of ownership. The presence of the West Street moat within that part of Gargrave village north of the Aire held by the de Longviler family (later the Nevilles), was mirrored by the Garris moat south of the river on Percy land. It is probable that the tenants of these two major families, if not individuals directly associated with them, showed their status to the opposing landholders by creating moated seignorial seats within this major Craven township.

The West Street moat was preceded by a complex of domestic, industrial and agricultural buildings of manorial character, the seat of John de Longvilers, and passing on John's death in 1254 to William de Longvilers. It is at this point that the factor of ownership again becomes significant: it is tempting to see the advent of William as the impetus if not for the actual creation of the moat, then for the remodelling of the original timber buildings in Williams' Phase 2. The Neville family held the manor by 1275 after de Longviler's part in the rebellion of the mid 1260s. It is clear that the Nevilles were responsible for the late thirteenth-century stone buildings recorded in Williams' Phase 3. The final demise of the West Street moat coincided with the fall in fortune of the Neville family in the early/mid fifteenth century.

To summarise, the West Street moat was situated in a small group of outlying sites away from the main geographical spread of moats that lay in lowland Yorkshire. However, this can be explained by the presence of underlying boulder clay deposits, a factor shared by the 'twin' site at the Garris, south of the river Aire. The two Gargrave moats, and the outlying moat at Sedbergh were seignorial sites closely linked to nationally important families, the Nevilles, the Percys and the Mowbrays.

In common with all seignorial moats, the West Street site occupied a location within the village pertaining to it. Although relatively modest in scale, the moat had a range of buildings, initially of timber, but later replaced with stone. Like all moated sites, its development was linked with the fortunes of its owners and occupants, and although

the arrival of the Neville family initially stimulated improvements at the site, their downfall coincided with the abandonment of the moat.

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SEAL MATRICES: RECENT YORKSHIRE DISCOVERIES.

By I. H. Szymanski

The introduction of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in 1997 has resulted in a large amount of material being brought forward by members of the public for recording, including a large number of seal matrices from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The volume of this material means that it is possible to begin to derive some meaningful statistical information about the types and styles of matrix used, and attempt to relate them to their broader historical context. The first part of this paper concentrates on the statistical evidence, and the second discusses some of the more interesting examples in greater detail.

In the past, although an estimated 400,000 objects a year of historical interest were found by members of the public, it is an unfortunate fact that these items were unrecorded and often lost to view. The result was that much useful information was also lost, particularly about relatively commonplace items of lesser monetary value. Ironically, the monetary value of these pieces was in inverse proportion to their academic interest as indicators of practical usage and taste.

This situation existed purely because no organization was extant with the resources to make recording possible. This led to the loss of an enormous amount of potential information about the historical past. In an attempt to address this problem, the Portable Antiquities Scheme was established in 1997 with the dual aim of improving the recording of items of interest found by the general public, and improving co-operation and understanding between the growing number of metal-detector users and archaeologists.

The response from the public was good; in York, it was so good that volunteer help was also needed, and was provided under the aegis of the Archaeological Resource Centre (ARC) of the York Archaeological Trust (YAT). Receivers at York found themselves dealing with a large and varied range of finds, from coins to discarded children's toys. Together with the many pieces already familiar from archaeological digs, a number of rare items of great interest have been recorded (some displayed in the British Museum's recent exhibition), but this is not the Scheme's sole achievement. Many of the more common items have been encountered in larger numbers than is usually the case, enabling analyses to be made which would not otherwise be possible. This paper will consider one such group of items which have been recorded at the ARC in York, mediaeval seal matrices, considering first the statistical information which can be derived from the group and, secondly, specific examples of particular note.

STATISTICS

Mediaeval seals have received a good deal of attention in the past, but the type of seals considered is only a small portion of those in use at the time. The seal impressions which have usually aroused interest are those of the privileged few: the monarch, his magnates, and the upper echelons of the Church hierarchy. However, there were many more seals in use in the mediaeval period, largely due to the introduction of government based on literacy and record under Henry II. By the thirteenth century, seal ownership was widespread amongst the lesser members of society; indeed, in 1285 the statute of Exeter required even 'bondsmen' to have seals, suggesting that

	Pb Vesica	Cu Vesica	Pb Round	Cu Round	Pb Other	Cu Other	Totals
male	32 (Y13)	34 (Y21)	24 (Y11)	32 (Y10)	4 (Y1)	11 (Y7)	139 (Y63)
female	13 (Y4)	4 (Y3)	5 (Y3)	4 (Y4)	1	0	28 (Y13)
impersonal	19 (Y15 including 3 illegible)	11 (Y2)	4 (Y2)	50 (Y24)	1 (Y1 illegible)	12 (Y8)	
total	64 (Y 32 including 3 illegible)	49 (Y25)	33 (Y16)	86 (Y37)	6 (Y2)	23 (Y15)	272 (Y131)

Table 1: Seal types and compositions; figures in brackets preceded by Y are for Yorkshire alone

ownership was not restricted to those with disposable property or goods.¹ How far this edict was followed is not known; but the number of seals discovered from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is substantial, suggesting that use of the devices was embraced with enthusiasm.

A large number of thirteenth and fourteenth century seals has been recorded at the ARC; these form the vast majority of the 270 matrices received in the seven years up to the end of February 2004. The relatively large number involved means that they may be considered a reasonably representative sample of matrices used in the catchment area, although it must be emphasized that representativeness or otherwise of items seen is affected by factors such as their being found, recognized for what they are, and reported. A very small number may be earlier, and a few are of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Over half of the total number of matrices were found in Yorkshire, and the majority of the remainder in Lincolnshire. As well as individual finds, a number of collections of matrices have been recorded, and pieces from these provide the outstanding balance, originating from spots scattered across the country. The collections mentioned inevitably produce something

¹ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1993), p. 51.

of a bias towards quality and the unusual amongst the records, but they do mean that both a broad range and a large number of matrices have been recorded, in all likelihood forming a more representative sample of types and styles than would otherwise be encountered even within such a large county as Yorkshire.

The majority of matrices are of copper alloy; some 37 per cent are of lead, and only two of silver. For the purposes of this review, matrices are divided into groups dependent on their shape and composition rather than date. This approach has been taken due to the difficulties of accurate dating: not only are these matrices effectively contextless, but are often in damaged condition or lacking in sufficient distinctive features. Table 1 gives an indication of the figures involved. In each case, the first number quoted is the overall total, and the second (preceded by Y in parentheses), is the number of Yorkshire examples (which have already been incorporated in the preceding number).

The first of the groups in the table, lead matrices, is considered under three headings: those which are vesica-shaped (pointed oval), those which are circular, and all other shapes. It would be possible to subdivide these categories further on the basis of size, but the number of seals in each category would then be so small that it would be difficult to derive any meaningful data. Even when grouped in this way, the numbers considered are, in some cases, still in single figures, and it has been necessary to round the figures given.

Lead matrices: vesicas

Of the lead vesicas, twenty-two (almost a third) are of very simple design and crude manufacture; the remainder are of reasonable quality and made with some care. It must be emphasized that crudeness has no relationship to the complexity of the device on a piece, but to the original care in execution. Thus a crude matrix is one where the device is effectively scratched on to the matrix, and the lettering is generally uneven and cut with no thought as to the space available. A regular cross neatly portrayed has not been adjudged to be crude; nor has a piece bearing reversed lettering if the said lettering is well-spaced and even.

Devices on the lead vesicas recorded vary quite widely; the most common designs are various forms of fleur-de-lys (21 per cent) and those drawing inspiration from the natural world in the form of flora and fauna (18 per cent), closely followed by an eight-pointed 'starburst' and various forms of cross. However, some 11 per cent do not fit any of these categories; their designs range between the relatively complex, such as the matrix of an alchemist (232²) bearing what appears to be an alchemical device, simple figures such as the moon and stars, or those which are impossible to decipher. In total, fully half the lead vesicas recorded belong to demonstrably or explicitly male owners, and only 20 per cent to women; this is in marked contrast to the suggestion of Harvey and McGuinness³ that ten times as many women used lead vesicas as men. Some 25 per cent of lead vesica matrices are impersonal, even excluding those which are illegible due to damage.

² All reference numbers given refer to the Portable Antiquities Database, online at <http://www.findsdatabase.org.uk/>. To consult the relevant records, enter the number in the 'Other Reference' search field; any numbers beginning 'IHS' are then placed in the 'Object ID' field.

³ P. D. A. Harvey & A. McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (London, 1996), pp. 79-80.

Lead matrices: circular

Round lead seals form a small but substantial sub-group of finds recorded; just over half as many round lead matrices (thirty-three) have been recorded as vesicas (sixty-four). Again, approximately a third of examples are of what may be termed crude manufacture, incorporating simple, untidy devices and irregular lettering, often including reversed letters or the occasional completely reversed matrix. The proportion of female owners is even less than that for vesicas (12 per cent), but this figure may be misleading as the sample is very small (one extra matrix would cause the figure to rise by 3 per cent). The number of impersonal matrices is also lower (12 per cent), but the same caveat applies. The same devices remain popular, although the proportion of matrices bearing devices indicative of trade or profession has almost doubled from just over 3 per cent to 6 per cent. A category not found amongst lead vesicas but represented amongst the round lead matrices is the heraldic; of the three examples recorded, one is of uncertain date but the other two pieces appear to date from the thirteenth century. The first bears a very fine griffin (discussed below), and the second a shield of arms (225); unfortunately, the legend is indecipherable in the latter case, hence there is no way of knowing whether these arms were owned by a member of the landed classes, or employed by some form of merchant or tradesman.

Lead matrices: other shapes

The final group of lead matrices to be considered are those of an irregular form. Five of these have been recorded, four an inverted teardrop of variable size, and one oval; at least three are of crude manufacture. Three had male owners, one, of better quality than the others, belonged to a female and the remaining matrix bears an indecipherable legend. All three of the matrices belonging to men give information as to their owner's occupation; one was owned by a shepherd (182), another possibly by a smith judging by the device, and the third, judging by his name ([De]odatus Disdei) a monk.⁴ The devices include two fleurs-de-lys, a cross and what may be a horseshoe and nail on the potential smith's matrix. The shepherd's matrix is double-sided (the legends appear to refer to a man and his relative), a feature found only on one other of the lead matrices considered here, a vesica.⁵

The number of lead matrices recorded at the ARC is substantial, comprising 101 pieces in total. Just under half of these pieces were found in Yorkshire; although the comments above relating to shapes and devices are derived from all the lead matrices recorded at the ARC (that is, from find spots outside the county as well as within it), the percentages given are equally accurate when applied to matrices found in Yorkshire alone. The only real point in which Yorkshire seals might be considered to differ from the national picture is in the number of women represented; of the fifty matrices recorded, eight (16 per cent) belonged to women, whilst nationally the figure is (19 per cent). When the numbers considered are so small, this may be a statistical

⁴ Shepherd's legend: S':NORMAN:PAST__RIS (reverse, SIGIL' X ____E__ORMANI PASTORIS;) monk SIGILL':ODATII DISDEI. 'Odatii' is almost certainly from 'Deodatus'; the two names together meaning effectively 'God given, rich in God'. Such names would be adopted by some monks on entry to their Order; they were not in general use amongst the population at large.

⁵ Since this article was written, a two-sided circular lead matrix has been recorded which belonged to two siblings (58).

fluke; it may also be that some female seals have not been recognized. Such a situation might arise from the piece being in poor condition, or from the difficulty of expanding the legend. Some 75 per cent of the legends on lead matrices are personal names with the addition of either a father's name or a byname, and in the majority of cases all names are abbreviated. Many abbreviations are obvious, but in two or three cases names which appear to be unusual contractions of a male form may, in fact, be female.

Copper alloy matrices

The 170 copper alloy matrices recorded are so varied that a meaningful extrapolation from the figures is not always possible. For that reason, figures are given below only for the broader categories recorded rather than for all; once more, the pieces are categorized by size and composition, as described for lead matrices above. Over half of the matrices (eighty-six – 50.5 per cent) are circular, although forty-nine (29 per cent) are vesicas, a small number oval and one rhomboid. Amongst the circular matrices, a number are flat-backed, but the majority have a hexagonal handle terminating in a suspension loop, as is the case with the oval matrices; the vesicas tend to have flat backs with a raised midrib and a suspension loop at the top. Quality is surprisingly good: a very small number have disintegrated at the edges and hence bear illegible legends or incomprehensible devices due to overall deterioration, but when considered as a whole they show significantly less damage than the lead pieces discussed above. Legends and devices are extremely varied; some 46 per cent bear an impersonal legend, whilst the remainder bear personal names, 49 per cent of all copper matrices recorded belonging to males and 5 per cent females – the difference from the figure for lead matrices (19 per cent female) is noteworthy. However, it is possible that the figure is misleading in terms of matrix ownership: it is quite possible that women were more likely to use matrices that did not indicate the gender of the user clearly – for example, the many examples bearing flora and fauna and a legend such as *prive sv*.

Copper alloy matrices: circular

The devices featured on round copper matrices are even more varied than was the case with the lead matrices. There are no examples of crude workmanship or devices incomprehensible through indifferent quality of cutting. The natural world remains a source of inspiration, accounting for fully 24 per cent of the total recorded; the figures for devices of a religious nature (22 per cent) and those illustrating a coat of arms or heraldic beast (20 per cent for the two combined) are only slightly lower. Together, these three types of device account for two-thirds of all round copper matrices recorded. There are three further categories of significance, although the numbers involved are much lower; fleurs-de-lys are found on 6 per cent of matrices, amatory devices on a further 6 per cent and scenes related to hunting on 7 per cent; the remaining 24 per cent of the matrices bear devices that occur only on three seals or fewer (3 per cent). These include three examples of 'trade' matrices, and two crosses; the eight-armed 'starburst', popular on lead matrices, is not found at all. The gender distribution of the owners of circular matrices of this type is 37 per cent male, 5 per cent female; the greatest number (58 per cent) are impersonal, with a significant number of these bearing legends such as *prive sv*.

Copper alloy matrices: vesicas

Vesica-shaped copper matrices are recorded in rather smaller numbers than circular

ones: only forty-nine vesicas have been recorded, as opposed to eighty-six circular pieces. Also noticeably smaller is the range of devices used; 45 per cent are religious, and 27 per cent heraldic. Five matrices (10 per cent) refer to trades or occupations, a further five to the natural world and two to hunting, whilst a handful do not fit any of the categories mentioned above. 69 per cent of copper vesicas had male owners, and 6 per cent female, the balance bearing impersonal legends.

Copper alloy matrices: other shapes

The final sub-group of copper matrices is small, only twenty-three in total, and mainly oval in shape. These pieces have an even more limited range of devices: 56 per cent are religious, 13 per cent heraldic, the same number of the natural world and the remainder outside these categories. Just under half had male owners, and the remainder bore impersonal legends; no females are recorded as using a matrix of this type.

Silver matrices

The two silver matrices which make up the total of ARC pieces are both heraldic, one circular with a device of a shield of arms belonged to a male and was found in Yorkshire, whilst the second, a flat-backed vesica, belonged to a female represented on the device holding a bird of prey and shield of arms, and was found in Kent.⁶

GENERAL POINTS

As stated at the outset, the number of matrices considered is limited, and some of the statistics derived from them may be unreliable, particularly when percentages of the whole appear to be small. The figures given are calculated from a consideration of all matrices recorded, but the separate figures for Yorkshire vary very little from those indicated here. Thus the observations above may be considered to be applicable both nationally and within Yorkshire. Part of the reason for the similarity of the two sets of figures is the importance of Yorkshire in the mediaeval period: not only was it the home of important castles such as Tickhill, but the monarch and his court were frequent visitors to the area, particularly the first two Edwards during the period of the Scottish Wars, while Edward III was married in York Minster.

The foregoing paragraphs have given the results of some detailed analysis of the groups and sub-groups of the matrices recorded at York. However, some more general observations can be drawn from a consideration of the whole. One of the most noticeable points must be the imbalance between the numbers of male and female owners of matrices: far more male matrix owners are recorded than female. The imbalance is less acute amongst lead matrix owners, but more acute with the relatively costlier copper matrices. One interesting detail rather obscured by the statistics is that copper alloy women's matrices are of better quality than those of their male counterparts, as illustrated in the discussion of their matrices in the second part of this paper.

⁶ The circular matrix found in York, bearing the arms *two bars and on a canton a cinquefoil pierced* may be post mediaeval; the lettering of the blackletter legend (SIGILLUM : IOHANNIS : PRESTONE) is quite widely spaced for the type (IHS-0CA767). A near-identical seal to the second silver matrix is illustrated in D. H. Williams, *Welsh History Through Seals* (Cardiff, 1982), fig. 21. In that case the owner, Howys, lady of Cyfeillog, bears a shield in each hand displaying the arms of her husband and a presumed ancestor. In the York case, the lady bears a shield on which is blazoned a maunche; it is not known to whom the arms belonged.

One of the possible reasons for the preponderance of males' matrices recorded may be found in the nature of their owners: 22 per cent of all matrices recorded, irrespective of composition or shape, had a religious theme. This does not imply that 22 per cent of all matrix holders were clerics of one form or another, but a significant number will have been. Of the fifty-five matrices which gave an indication of the owner's trade or profession, twenty-three belonged to clerics and three to nuns – some 47 per cent of the total. Many of these churchmen were in positions of authority: four were archdeacons and one a bishop – positions which were not open to women. Further, male churchmen included the mendicant Orders, whose aim was to be visible within the community. Females, even female religious, tended to be both less visible and more restricted in their movements – the presence of only three nuns among the owners of the pieces recorded seems to emphasize this point. It is, of course, true to say that this may under-represent the real number of nuns' seals recorded, as it is possible that some of the other women recorded were also members of religious orders. Unfortunately, women's religious seals do not appear to conform to a recognizable pattern in terms of the devices used, although the language of the legend is consistently French in the three cases mentioned, presumably reflecting the Sisters' ignorance of Latin and ability to read French. The devices used include a starburst by a possible prioress, Aelie de Meby (found at Bedale), whose seal was a lead vesica; a compass sexfoil on the large circular copper alloy matrix of Nichola, daughter of Stephen; and an elongated fleur-de-lys on the lead vesica matrix of Avice.⁷ As commented above, both the starburst and the fleur-de-lys were popular devices on lead mediaeval matrices; it may be that some were used by nuns who are otherwise unrecognized.

Although so many matrices recorded belonged to churchmen or women, the remainder display a large variety of trades and occupations, with few replicated. Leaving aside clerics, the notable exceptions are smiths ('fabricarius'), represented three times (74, 93, possibly 202); butchers, in both cases a personal name plus a device of butchers' tools, occurring twice (160, 180); and merchants (merchant's marks) five times (92, 97, 134, 240). Several other individuals appear to have been involved in either the production or processing of food judging by either their choice of device or stated profession: there are matrices which appear to belong to a farmer (2), two to men dealing with fish, one a grain merchant and one very unusual matrix bearing a device of various flower stamens which may belonged to an apiarist, perhaps the only individual likely to have an interest in this specific part of a flower rather than flowers *per se* (144). One matrix also bears grapes and vine tendrils suggesting that the owner was a wine merchant (35). Other trades are also represented: one piece bears a loom shuttle (29), two have devices of bows and one a crossbow (132, 205), while yet another states that its owner was 'Roger the Carter' around a device of a cartwheel (228). Amongst the less common trades or occupations there is a vesica belonging to a William who describes himself as an alchemist, while a broken matrix illustrating a penitent and a cleric belonged to a penancer (99).

Although the examples above are reasonably clear-cut, either through the unequivocal nature of the device (there is, for example, little reason for a man to choose a meat-hook and cleaver unless he is a butcher) or information given in the legend, it is likely that other tradespeople are hidden among the various

⁷ E.g. no. 95, where the device is a tonsured individual kneeling before a chalice, above him a diptych of the Crucifixion and the Madonna; or 98, where the legend names its owner as VICAR' DE ALDELYME. The women's matrices read S':AVICIE:FIL':ICI S (71) and S'NICHOL'FIL'STEPH'ICI SO (57).

matrices recorded. Religious topics were the choice for a large number of matrix devices, but the use of such topics was not restricted to clerics. This is amply illustrated by the matrices belonging to two named tradesmen: the first is a ferryman whose matrix was found at Poppleton (147a: S'PHILIPPI DE PASS_GCULI), the second was a carver whose matrix was found close to York (see below). The ferryman's matrix bore a device of a pelican in her piety, whilst the carver employed a matrix bearing an exquisitely-detailed crucified Christ with a figure kneeling below.

However, the impressions produced by matrices are not their only point of interest. Thanks to the Portable Antiquities initiative, recorders have been in the unusual position of being able to see, not only the impression created by a matrix (of which large collections are already recorded), but the matrices themselves. The latter fact has enabled the quality, type and composition of such matrices to be assessed. One result of this is an increased awareness of the sheer diversity of matrices used. Even though this diversity means that a significant number of matrices are needed to enable meaningful analysis, some interesting facts are already emerging. One is the variety of shapes recorded. Although the form of the faces and seals produced may be limited to a circle, vesica or oval, the matrices themselves vary in height, weight, type of column, style of suspension loop and style of piercing of the same. For example, copper alloy matrices vary in height from 17.5 mm to 37.5 mm; columns can be hexagonal in cross section, or circular; and suspension loops can be rhomboid, circular, square or trifoliar, with the perforation either a simple drilled circle or echoing the shape of the loop itself. An adequate number of examples should provide information about the uniformity of methods of manufacture and metallurgical composition across the country, as well as tracing the production of individual workshops. The latter is already true of at least two lead vesicas recorded at York.

In some respects, lead vesica matrices are more interesting on the reverse than on the obverse. Reverses of these pieces are rarely studied, but, judging by the few recorded at the ARC, they carry a wide variety of cast designs. Perhaps not surprisingly, the most popular is an inverted fleur-de-lys (inverted so that the suspension loop or lug disturbs the design as little as possible), but a cross, a saltire, a shell design, curled tendrils and two starbursts have all been observed. These last two (88, 156a) are particularly interesting as they are virtually identical, appear on matrices of identical dimensions and were found within three miles of each other, suggesting that they originated in the same workshop. One of the pieces is in excellent condition, its obverse uncut, whereas the other is a good example of an unpretentious, utilitarian seal of simple but competent design.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

The previous section has discussed the matrices recorded at the ARC in fairly general terms. However, a considerable number of these matrices are of substantial interest in their own right for varying reasons; these will be discussed and commented on below. Broadly, seals have been chosen either because of their intrinsic interest, or to illustrate the various types recorded; examples have been restricted to those found in Yorkshire, although relevant pieces found outside the county are also commented on briefly. The intention is not to provide a mere list of matrices (such details of the matrices illustrated are to be found in the appendix), but to move beyond the narrow confines of a catalogue and attempt to place them within a wider historical and cultural context.

As stated at the outset, little attempt has been made to date matrices precisely.



Yorkshire Seals: Figures 1-5 (not to scale)

However, a number do stand out as of significantly earlier date than the others. One such piece, found near Malton, is illustrated (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, damage to the edge means that the legend is not entirely recoverable, but this is less important than it might be as the main interest of this piece lies in its device of a griffin, a mythical creature which was half lion, half bird. The piece dates from the end of the twelfth century or the early thirteenth, a period when heraldry is thought to have been developing.⁸ Heraldic devices, particularly heraldic beasts other than the lion, are not well recorded; indeed, griffins are rare on known arms before the fifteenth century. However, this piece emphasizes the fact that they were known and used – and depicted in a manner which echoes that later found in heraldry. The creature's leonine portion already displays the stylized narrow waist of the later lions together with the double curve of the tail. Although its owner is unidentified (the legend names him as WILL'M, possibly son of GISW_N), a partial seal very similar in style is found amongst the collection in Durham.⁹ The catalogue describes that beast as a wyvern – interestingly, another mythical beast that would have heraldic currency – and the seal belonged to one of the grandsons of Earl Gospatrick II, living in 1185.

This griffin is the earliest of the numerous heraldic or protoheraldic animals found on seals recorded at the ARC; others include a dragon, eagle displayed and lion. Lions appear on several seals, and the owners are generally described in full. An example is provided by the matrix of Hugh de Sautre (110), a flat circular copper alloy matrix found in Bedale bearing a lion rampant. However, the more interesting (and identifiable) of the copper alloy vesicas are those which bear a shield as well as a full name. Several such have been found in Yorkshire, including a pair belonging to the Darell family of Sessay, near Thirsk. These two matrices were found by different individuals some years apart, but within ten miles of each other. Both are copper vesicas of very similar size and form, both devices consist of a shield of arms below a star or estoile. William Darell's (Fig. 2) was the first matrix to be found, but bore a number of features which made it difficult to be certain that it belonged to the aristocratic family of the name.

The first problem was the relative frequency with which the name Darell occurs in Yorkshire. The Darells (properly D'Arels, sometimes D'Orells) were an Anglo-Norman family who held extensive lands during the mediaeval period, including the piece's find place, Coxwold. However, the surname was not limited to the descendants of this aristocratic family; there is evidence to suggest that men working on their lands might also take their name, thus explaining the relatively large number of Darells that occur in mediaeval Yorkshire records.¹⁰ Even if one discounts all but the men named William, there are still some fifty references to an individual of that name in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, including clerics, knights and innkeepers. Contrary to popular expectation, the presence of the shield of arms did not prove beyond dispute that the owner was armigerous, for heraldic devices appear to have been in use amongst the population at large, a fact emphasized by Henry V's edict against the use of arms by those not entitled to them.¹¹ In

⁸ A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: The Evidence' in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 1-16.

⁹ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd Series. (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1904-24) XII (1911), pl. VII, no. 2817.

¹⁰ The late Prof. P. Stell, private communication.

¹¹ In the oft-quoted writ of 1417, whose precise import is hotly debated in heraldic circles. See T. Woodcock and J. M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), p. 34.

point of fact, the beast on William Darell's shield was a further possible indication that its owner was not aristocratic.

The Darells' arms were *azure, a lion rampant or, crowned argent*; the first definite record of them occurs at the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹² However, the beast on this matrix cannot be interpreted as a lion rampant crowned: its head is conspicuously non-leonine, looking rather more like that of a hooded man. One possible interpretation would be that it was intended for a manticora, a creature with a man's head and lion's body.¹³

The discovery of a strikingly similar matrix close by bearing the name Agatha Darell of Sessay (Fig. 3) meant that William's matrix had to be considered afresh. Agatha's matrix is in poorer condition than William's, but the similarity of style and execution is obvious at a glance: the two pieces are also very similar in size and have near-identical backs. Further, a woman bearing a shield of arms on her matrix and identifying herself as Agatha Darell of Sessay (S' AGATHA _AREL' DE SEZAY) is unlikely to be anyone other than a member of the landowning family of the name. Indeed, an Agatha does occur amongst the recorded Darells as the widow of the knight Marmaduke Darell who, in March 1295, is listed as holding lands at Sessay. By 1322 he was dead, and the only other information about Agatha is that she and her son Richard had given shelter to Margaret, wife of Thomas de Coleville, when that lady fled from her husband's house. It is true that the arms on Agatha's matrix are not those of the aristocratic Darells, but one would not necessarily expect them to be, as women often used their paternal arms, or those of noteworthy ancestors, on their seals after marriage, particularly if they were heiresses. The point is further illustrated by the seal of Hawys discussed in footnote 6.

The similarities between Agatha's matrix and William's suggest that William was a member of the same aristocratic family. There were a number of knights named William Darell (one William, for example, was overlord of Sessay in the mid-thirteenth century), but the problem of the beast on his shield remains: it is clearly not the lion rampant, crowned or otherwise, as found on the arms of the principal Darell line. A plausible explanation is that he was a younger son of the family who had adopted a differenced version of his family's arms (a common practice), and so the two matrices can be considered as belonging to members of the same family.

The Darells' are not the only heraldic copper vesicas recorded at York; another belonged to a Hastings (26). Its owner has proved more difficult to identify. Other heraldic matrices are of the more common circular form, and include a fine matrix identifying its owner as one Mauricius Brun (Fig. 4). There are several men of the name on record, but the arms on the shield (*a cross*

¹² There are problems with the early Darell arms: the first record is a 1322 seal of a Marmaduke Darell which shows a simple lion rampant; the next is a seal of another Marmaduke Darell in 1401, which shows a crowned lion rampant. The first tinctured arms are not recorded for another forty years; soon after, the Darell line of Sessay failed.

¹³ Several such creatures have been recorded on contemporary horse-harness pendants; one such is illustrated in J. Cherry, 'Harness Pendants' in *Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part I*, eds P. & E. Saunders (Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, 1991), pp. 17-28, no. 15; see also harness pendant 235 recorded at York. The strange tail of the creature on the Darrell matrix adds some credence to this theory as it is not the tail normally encountered on the heraldic lion, but matches that on the manticora in some bestiary illustrations, e.g., that reproduced on p. 51 of T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts* (1984 edition).

moline and a quarter lozengy) indicate the descendant(s) of a particular individual.

The Bruns¹⁴ were a large and wealthy family, whose principal holdings lay in the southern portion of England; their arms were *azure, a cross moline or*. The inclusion of the *quarter lozengy* on this matrix is explained by a marriage: Maurice le Brun, son and heir of William le Brun of Rowner, Hampshire, and of Ranston, Dorset, married Maud, the daughter and heiress of Philip de la Rokely of Ockendon (died 1296) whose arms were *lozengy ermine and gules*. Later branches of the family in Essex and Dorset quartered the Brun *cross moline* with *lozengy and gules*, but, at this stage, the Rokely arms were being used only as a quarter.

This form of the arms found on this matrix appears to have had a fairly short currency. It is not clear which Maurice actually used them: a seal of MAVRICIVS BRVN attached to documents of 1371, 1384 and 1408 bears the same arms, although the impression is not from the matrix under discussion. The Maurice who married Maud died in 1355; hence it seems likely that the man referred to on this matrix was his son or grandson. As in many aristocratic families, names tended to be repeated over the generations. He was certainly not the heir of the Maurice who died in 1355, for his recorded heir is a William; he may well have been the son who inherited the lands his mother Maud brought to the family, and hence her arms.

As noted above, a seal with the same arms is found attached to documents of the period 1371–1408.¹⁵ An interesting fact about these documents is that they were not witnessed by the matrix owner, Maurice Brun; instead, his matrix appears to have been used by a lesser knight, John Wentworth. The Wentworths were, at the time of the documents' production, of rather less social standing than the Bruns (the Wentworths' real prominence was in the sixteenth century); more importantly, John Wentworth of Elmsall (also the find place of the matrix) was a second son, and not his father's heir. As such, his importance was limited, and this may explain his use of the Brun seal. It is known that individuals used seals which did not bear their own name; the important thing was to have a seal, of any kind, to authenticate a document. In the case of the documents mentioned, the seal almost certainly did not belong to John Wentworth, but was used with the owner's permission to add extra authority to the transaction. The relationship between the two men is not known in detail.

A further matrix of note belonging to a local knight is that of William, lord of Percehay (Fig. 5). This piece is rather later than the majority of those recorded, being from the fifteenth century. It bears a close stylistic similarity to another piece recorded from Northampton; it may be that these matrices were cast with the shield and helm blank and the relevant arms added later.¹⁶ The Percehays appear in the county as early as the twelfth century, and they continued as lords of Ryton and Hildenley in Ryedale¹⁷ until the sixteenth century, subsequently becoming influential figures in Malton. The arms depicted on the matrix match those recorded for the family (*argent, a cross flory gules*) and are depicted in a manner typical for the period, with the jousting helm aslant on the corner of the shield and the bull's head crest visible on

¹⁴ The family's name is thought to be related to the Dutch *bruin* (bear) rather than 'brown'. This is supported by the fact that other members of the family spelt their name 'Bruyn' and 'Bruyin'.

¹⁵ For details see *YAJ*, 36 (1891), pp. 48, 51, and C. Clay, *Yorkshire Deeds*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 76 (1930), vol. 6, p. 118.

¹⁶ For a matrix which gives credence to this thesis, see P. & E. Saunders, eds, *Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum Catalogue*, part 1, p. 34, matrix 25.

¹⁷ J. Rushton, *The History of Ryedale* (Blackthorn Press, 2004), pp. 108, 116, 127, 149–50. (New York, 2001) pp. 36–37. The lady in question was Dionysia de Stuteville (157).

top of it, here breaking into the lettering between 'dnis' [*sic*] and 'Percehey'.

Thus a number of matrices belonging to landed or aristocratic males have been noted at York. Although the overall number of women's matrices recorded is generally low, aristocratic women are represented. One particularly fine silver seal belonged to a knight's wife from Kent, whilst another exquisite copper alloy matrix was found at Settrington, near Malton (155). The latter was large for a matrix of the type, being fully 24 mm in diameter, and bore a fine image of a lady's head in profile. In spite of being a relatively simple device, the amount of detail visible is noteworthy, giving an indication of its owner's wealth and demand for quality. The lady wears her hair in a bun at the nape of her neck, enclosed in a visible crespnette; she has a narrow band across her forehead, which appears to be linked to her rouched barrette. The owner, Marie de Welle, was a member of a Lincoln family of that name, but had relatives buried in Malton Priory, perhaps explaining the matrix's find close by. Another, rather grander female's matrix was found in Nottingham; it is the bottom half of a deliberately-broken vesica which belonged to Iehanne de Cresci, who is shown standing facing the viewer, the *lion rampant queue fourchy* of her father's arms clearly visible on the skirt of her dress.¹⁸ Women's seals may be more rarely encountered than those of men, but there is nothing to suggest that their quality or beauty was less than those used by their male counterparts.

Another female's matrix found outside the county emphasizes wealthy women's participation in the aristocratic pursuits, in this particular case hawking as it shows a bird of prey on a falconer's hand.¹⁹ Matrices with a hunting or hawking theme may be under-represented in this collection as the numbers seen are fairly low. Three pieces have been found in Yorkshire, including one bearing a close resemblance to two found in Lincolnshire with a device of a hunting dog (possibly a talbot) ridden by a hare carrying a bow. The Lincolnshire examples are surrounded in one case by the English legend IHC AM HONTE GOD (I am a good hunter), in the second the hunting cry SOHOV ROBEN; the Yorkshire example bears the cryptic legend ALAS BONUS (117, 117a, 25). An attractive matrix with a similarly humorous theme has been recorded from the vicinity of Tickhill castle (Fig. 6). Again, this matrix is not unique – what is probably an identical matrix is described in the catalogue of seals at Durham²⁰ – but worthy of attention due to its amusing device of a sparrow wearing a cloak consisting of a cat's ears and tail and proclaiming IE SVY DE GISE (I am in disguise). Comic intent can be difficult to recognize at a temporal distance, but it is clear here, as it is in the case of a legend illustrating what is clearly a monkey in the pose of a lion rampant surrounded by the legend SUM LEO FIDELIS (Fig. 7).

A second group of matrices which is almost certainly under-represented amongst those considered here is those with an amatory device. Although numbers are small (nine seals) it is noteworthy that the theme is found among all the categories used to classify these matrices; over half of them were found in Yorkshire. One, a large lead vesica found at Weaverthorpe, is badly damaged and

¹⁸ This seal has been discussed in detail by Dr David Marcombe in 'Johanna de Cressy, the Lady of Hodsock: seals, power and inheritance in thirteenth-century Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 102 (1998) pp. 57-67.

¹⁹ Identifiable from the striped sleeve visible; see M. Pastoureau, *The Devil's Cloth*, trans. J. Gladding,

²⁰ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, VII, p. 357, seal 796 describes another matrix with the legend 'Ie svy de gyse' as bearing a human head with an animal's feet and tail; unfortunately, the photograph is so indistinct it is impossible to be sure what is depicted; a similar matrix has been recorded at Scunthorpe Museum, and the type seems to have been relatively common..



Yorkshire Seals: Figures 6-10 (not to scale)

its device incomprehensible, but what can be recovered of its legend speaks of T ___DOLT I DRVERI (55). *Druerie* is a French word, recorded as early as 1170; *dru(e)* was the common term for 'lover' or perhaps 'beloved', and its use suggests an amatory motto. A second lead vesica hails from Lincolnshire, and although its legend is a female personal name, it surrounds the head of a fashionable young man (120); a parallel seal has a male personal name for a legend around the image of a young woman (119). Although these matrices do not have a strictly amatory legend, their owners' thoughts were clearly focused on admiration of the opposite sex. Other matrices in this category bear explicitly amatory devices, such as a rather charming image of a heart from which sprouts greenery amongst which sits a singing bird (32); the legend here is PRIVE SV.

A popular type of amatory matrix is a small circular copper alloy piece bearing the separated heads of two lovers surrounded by an appropriate legend. This type of matrix appears to have had wide currency: the three examples recorded to date at York hail from Pickering, Riccall and Lancashire (133, 181, 133a); and, to quote but one example of their occurrence elsewhere, two more are recorded in Ellis.²¹ It also seems to have enjoyed a long period of popularity, as dated examples occur from the end of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth and beyond. The details vary widely; the lovers can be separated by a tree, sometimes with a singing bird in it, or a rose bush, or other suitable device. The representation of the lovers themselves echoes the fashion of the time: the woman can wear a coif or a much later veil, and the style of the man's hair varies similarly. The legends develop in parallel, ranging from the thirteenth century French ALIVA HE MVN CVERA (perhaps 'she elevates my heart') to the later English LOVE ME AND I YE. One very interesting example is that found at Riccall, mentioned above.

The piece in question (Fig. 8) shows a knight in a thirteenth century helm and a woman wearing what appears to be mid-thirteenth century headgear, the two individuals being separated by a sword.²² The presence of a helmed knight and sword is unusual, and suggests that the individuals depicted are intended for the famed lovers, Tristan and Iseult.

The story of Tristan and Iseult enjoyed great popularity in the mediaeval period; a profusion of isolated tales survive, together with two or three renditions of more substantial portions of the tale. Versions are found in German, French, Norwegian, English and even Georgian. Within the tales, it is a given that Iseult was the exemplar of desirability, and Tristan a paramount knight brought to wretchedness and disgrace by his love for her, a love caused by the accidental consumption of a beverage intended for Iseult and her husband. An important episode narrated by the late twelfth century French redactor Béroul²³ describes how the exiled lovers are found asleep in the forest by Iseult's wronged husband, Marc. Prior to falling asleep, Tristan had placed a drawn sword between the two for ease of use in case of danger. Marc misinterprets the sword as a sign of the lovers' chastity, and hence innocence, replacing it with his own as a sign of his belief. The lovers are subsequently re-admitted to the court, and the tale continues. The sword thus

²¹ R. H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals, II* (London, 1981), nos 1962, 2130.

²² Dating of helm and sword kindly provided by Mr K. Matthews of the Castle Museum at York in a private communication.

²³ For a parallel text and translation into modern French, see H. Braet & G. Raynaud de Lage, ed. & trans., *Béroul: Tristan et Iseut* (Paris-Louvain, 1989).

plays a crucial role in the tale, and acts to identify the lovers on this piece; further, the identification of the subject of the device is of relevance to the meaning of the legend. In point of fact, the legend can be read in more than one way, a not uncommon situation when spelling was subject to the vagaries of dialect and phonetics, and not helped by the fact that legends are not always cut in a way that makes the divisions into words clear. Thus here, a possible reading would be IE SVI SEL A AMI LE[A]L (I am the seal of a loyal friend), although the use of 'SVI' for 'sui' would be relatively unusual for this date, the more common rendition being 'SV', sometimes 'SVV'. However, an alternative reading of IESV ISELA AMI LE[A]L (Iesu is her loyal friend/love) is equally possible. Such a reading, which makes a moral comment on the tale by comparing the love of the Divine with earthly love, can be justified in relation to the episode of the tale it illustrates. Within the tale, Marc's misinterpretation of the sword's import is ascribed to God's protection of the lovers; God's love of mankind is so great that He protects even those who sin, in contrast to the human Marc, who would have killed them had he known the true state of affairs.

The contrast between human and divine love seen on the Tristan matrix occurs on a number of other matrices of more overtly religious inspiration. *Fin'amor* (courtly love, *amor courtois*) elevated human love to the status of near-divinity, and clerics took its terms and used them freely when describing the love of Christ or the devout individual's emotions towards their God. Thus a fourteenth century matrix found in Nottingham has the legend 'IESV MERCI' around the image of a bearded man's head (143). *Merci* was a plea that the lover directed at his paramour; but it was an equally apt term to use before God. In the same way the word *ami*, a rather stronger word than the modern French 'friend', is also used of God; a piece found in Norfolk bears the legend IHC EST AMOR MEI (206, 206a). Other matrices pay less attention to the world of the flesh, concentrating firmly on the world of the Divine.

As indicated early in this paper, the number of matrices bearing a religious device is a substantial portion of the whole. The number may, in fact, be even higher than that indicated due to difficulties of classification: to give an example, matrices bearing the image of St Hubert's stag (31-31f) have been classified as 'religious', but could equally have been assigned to the sub-group of matrices dealing with hunting. A similar problem arises with the use of the fleur-de-lys. The fleur-de-lys was a common mediaeval symbol associated with the Virgin Mary; hence one might justifiably argue that a matrix bearing such a device should be classified as religious. To avoid this problem here, matrices bearing the fleur have been counted separately, but at least one recorded example bears out the sacred connection. This is a piece found in Nottinghamshire, that of one of the nuns mentioned previously. Now in very poor condition, it bears a device of an elegant, elongated fleur-de-lys together with the legend S':AVICIE·FIL':ICI ('the seal of Avice, a Sister here'; 71²⁴). In this case at least, there can be no doubt that the fleur-de-lys was being used with its sacred import in mind; but it does raise questions about the identity of other women using a fleur-de-lys on their matrices. Unfortunately, although the two other matrices of female religious bear similarly common devices, they are not fleurs-de-lys, hence the question remains open: a rather better-condition Prioress's matrix found in Bedale bears an octofoil, whilst a piece belonging to a Sister found near Hull (S'NICHOL'FIL'STEPH'ICI SO, 'the seal of Nichola, daughter of Stephen, a sister here', 57) bears a sexfoil.

²⁴ In this context, 'sister' does not refer to a sibling, as emphasised by the use of the term on Nichola's matrix, where her father, but no possible sibling, is named.

Fortunately, other matrices are far less equivocal. One of the finest recorded, a copper-alloy vesica found near Topcliffe church (Fig. 9), bears the Coronation of the Virgin above a triple-towered ecclesiastical building. Its legend (S'COVENTVS FRM P'DICATO DE CASTRO PVELLA – s[igillum]'co[n]ventvs fr[atru]m p[re]'dicato[rum] de castro pvella[rum]) describes its origins as 'The Seal of the Convent of the Friars Preacher of Edinburgh'.²⁵ In spite of the fact that Topcliffe was an important local market, one wonders how the matrix came to be lost or discarded there.

A piece whose find place is much easier to account for is a broken half of a copper alloy vesica found near Beverley Minster. Although the piece is in poor condition, the device of a man kneeling before a seated individual is clear, as is the extant legend (Fig. 10). Enough of the latter (S'PENIT' ECC _____ VE_LACI – S[IGILLVM]'PENIT[ENTIARII]' ECC[LESIE] _____ BE]VE[R]LACI) is clear to identify its owner as 'the Penancer of the Church of ____ of Beverley'. A *penancer* (Latin *penitentiarius*) was a priest appointed to hear confession, assign penance and, in some types of cases, give absolution. It is interesting to note that, in this case, he is not represented as being a monk, for he has no tonsure. His place of work was within a church in Beverley and, although not named on the extant portion of the matrix, its identity can be established with reasonable confidence. As far as is known, there were only two churches in mediaeval Beverley: the present Minster and the church of St Mary. The Minster is a dual dedication to John of Beverley (its founder) and the soldier saint, Martin, and a process of elimination suggests that the church in question must be the Minster as the absent section of legend is probably too large to have held only one saint's name.

Another type of cleric's matrix which is recorded with some regularity is that of the archdeacon. Four of these have been recorded at the ARC (118, 121, 185, 241), two from Yorkshire. One particularly fine example is that belonging to a Brother James found near Doncaster, bearing an image of St James in the garb of a pilgrim (Fig. 11). Matrices depicting saints are common finds; many employ a style of representation which can make it difficult to determine the saint in question from the image alone, particularly if the saint's particular attributes, such as St Catharine's wheel or St Edmund's arrows are no longer clear. Here, however, one is dealing with an image where care has been expended on the details of the saint's attire. Similar care has been extended to the shield at his feet, where the arms 'ermine a chevron', presumably those of his natal family, are clearly visible. Although the tincture of the chevron is missing, there are relatively few recorded contenders for these arms at this point in history. The likeliest owner is a member of the Tuchet/Audley family²⁶ who held lands in Shropshire, Rutland and Northamptonshire. Their arms were *ermine, a chevron gules*; Brother James's membership of the Tuchet family is lent further support by the fact that a significant number of Tuchet males were called James.

The three matrices discussed above are quality pieces, engraved by skilled craftsmen. The best of the three pieces is arguably the broken and worn penancer's matrix from Beverley, with its carefully-realised figures and fine-detailed background. A clearer example of such quality workmanship is

²⁵ Published by D. M. Smith, 'Conventual Seal of the Dominican Priory at Edinburgh', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 121 (1993), pp. 331-33.

²⁶ The lords of Audley, who bore the same arms in the fourteenth century, are the same family, the Touchets, known under the title they had acquired by marrying the Audley heiress in the early 14th century.



Yorkshire Seals: Figures 11-15 (not to scale)

illustrated in a piece of similar date found near York (Fig. 12). This piece's owner appears to have been a layman; the matrix's legend identifies him as William Debe. Although his profession is not stated, one possible interpretation of the legend (W'DEBE'TRIBVE CELI CAD L'CIF IVE)²⁷ suggests that he may have been a carver or sculptor; a second matrix of notably similar form belonged to a stonemason.²⁸ William's matrix, although fairly small (face maxima 17 mm x 21.5 mm), is beautifully cut; Christ's body on the cross is so carefully depicted that musculature, and even the blood flowing from the wound in His side, is visible. William himself kneels at the bottom of the scene, hands joined in prayer; he is depicted in sufficient detail to be certain that he is not tonsured, but appears to have a full head of curly hair, a feature he seems to share with the Beverley penancer.

The four matrices discussed above are all of good quality and sophisticated in execution and intent. However, sophistication is not always a feature of such matrices, even when they are well-cut; Figure 13 illustrates this well. The owner of the piece is unidentified: judging by his image at the bottom of the matrix, he was another layman. Although broadly similar to the Rood matrix mentioned above, in that it has a devotional image above a kneeling figure, the style is altogether poorer, but has enormous charm. The legend – MISS[US]'EST GABRIEL AD MARI' (Gabriel was sent to Mary) – reinforces the device, which is a portrayal of the Annunciation. However, the depiction of the characters involved is most unusual, as the Divine has been reduced to the contemporary. The Virgin is dressed as a woman of the time, with no attempt to indicate her divinity, whilst Gabriel, although winged, lacks angelic garb and wears a fashionable coif or skull-cap over his hair, a most unusual detail. The depiction raises interesting questions about the owner: it may be that he was particularly literal-minded, or it may be that the scene exemplifies a religious movement of the time, that of affective devotion, where the individual was encouraged to imagine him/herself as a participant in sacred events as an aid to meditation and prayer. Thus Margery Kempe, a fifteenth-century exponent, imagined herself as a servant-girl witnessing the Crucifixion. Judging by the fashions portrayed, this piece pre-dates the fifteenth century (for example, the coif went out of fashion as a piece of male headgear in the fourteenth century), but the form of meditation existed prior to that date.

The matrices described above are a very small number of those recorded at York. Many others depict more familiar sacred subjects, such as the Agnus Dei (9-9e), the pelican in her piety (147-8), or figures of the Virgin and Child, often accompanied by a kneeling cleric (171). The majority of these are of an instantly recognizable form, although a few incorporate unusual details, such as one lozenge-shaped matrix whose device has a standing figure of the Virgin as Queen, holding a fleur-de-lys-topped sceptre in her hand (203). Other scenes of a non-religious nature are also found on multiple matrices, suggesting both the general

²⁷ W'DEBE'TRIBVE C[A]ELI CAD[UCA] L[U]'CIF[ERO] IVE - 'William Debe: Give the transitory objects of the chisel to Lucifer, pay the price'. (*caelum*, 'chisel, engraving tool'; *caduca*, 'transitory thing'). This and other complex Latin legends have been translated with the assistance of Mr I. Neal, of the York Archaeological Trust.

²⁸ Legend S'THOMAS D' SWIN CEMENTARII (Thomas of Swine [in Holderness], Stonemason); with thanks to the late Prof. P. Stell for drawing this to my attention. Published in P. Ottaway & N. Rogers, *Finds from Medieval York* , no. 14485, fig. 1507 p. 2941. Although found in sixteenth-century soil, the piece is of the thirteenth century. The scene illustrated differs from this piece, but the form of the matrices is recognisably similar in style.

popularity of the concept and the re-use of standard devices over a large geographical area. One such is worthy of comment before drawing this paper to a close.

The piece in question is a small matrix found near Bolton in East Yorkshire (Fig. 14). Although one edge is slightly damaged, the face, including the device, is almost pristine. The device is a form of Janus-figure. Janus-figures are relatively common on matrices: Janus, or Januarius, the Roman god of portals, was strongly associated with January, the 'opening' of the year. The celebration of the New Year was part of the mediaeval Christmas festivities; a thirteenth-century French song (in Latin) declares that *Festa januaris/festiva sunt festorum* (The feasts of January/are the festivities of all feasts). The contradictory nature of January (both the beginning of the new year, a time of promise and rebirth, and the depths of winter, traditionally identified with old age²⁹) can be found in the varied mediaeval representations of Janus himself within contemporary images: often he is an old man, sometimes a baby. Here, however, he is represented as two men of similar age but different social standing and worth. On the left, he is an arrogant aristocrat, whilst on the right, there is a man's head with a bird on top of it, long neck arched down in front of his face, beak biting his lip. The legend is slightly damaged, reading DODOLOFROBIN; the final N is reversed, a common mistake on matrices. However, in this case, it may not be a mistake, but an indication of the way in which the legend should be read.

Seals of this type and date which incorporate a legend that is not impersonal or simply a name, tend to use a legend appropriate to the device. Thus, for example, fig. 6 above, or a number of seals recorded bearing the legend IE SV NV TEL (I am none such) around the head of a fool (197, 197a). In this particular case, one might assume that the owner of the piece was named as Dodolo, son of Robin. However, this reading is unlikely to be correct, as 'Dodolo' appears to be an unknown name at this date. It may perhaps be from Roger, which can occasionally be found as *Dodd* or *Dodge*, or George, which can also be found as *Dodd*. By contrast, the apparent father's name, Robin, is a common one; it is also the archetypal name for a fool. The two names are separated by a simple letter F, with no apostrophe after it to indicate that it is an abbreviation for the Latin *fili*, son. This sort of omission is virtually unknown on matrices of this type; it is rare on even the cheapest lead matrices. Equally, it is very unlikely that it is intended to be without meaning. Rather, it appears to be emphasizing the apparent opposites visible in the device, for if read in the direction opposite to the norm with the next two letters it reads *fol* (the French for fool), followed by Odod, which is an anagram of Oddo, a popular aristocratic name. The reading of *fol* is given further weight by the device of the bird emerging from the head and biting the face, a detail normally indicative of a fool or jester.³⁰

The foregoing paragraphs have illustrated the range and diversity of pieces recorded at York. Although the pieces do not all originate in Yorkshire, enough do to make it clear that Yorkshire seals were not in any way inferior to those found in other parts of the country. Although some examples, such as the Janus discussed above, appear to be unique to date, others resemble those found a significant distance away

²⁹ See B. A. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (Pennsylvania, 1999), especially chapter 2.

³⁰ On this point, Dr M. H. Jones of the University of Sheffield observes: 'this janiform head ... depicts a long-necked bird's head emerging from the crown of the profile head to bite the lip of the head...[as] it is not biting the nose, sadly it cannot be an instance of the [much later] "Vogel Selbsterkenntnis" motif. Such a bird's head emerging from the crown of a human head would normally be a diagnostic mark of the fool or jester.' (private communication). There is some evidence that the association dates back to Classical times; it is seen on other matrices of the period, e.g. 197, where the bird's head hangs at the back of the head in the manner of a liripipe hood.

which appear to be almost identical in terms of device. Some of these are not surprising: one would expect the *Agnus Dei*, of which nine examples have been recorded, to be a popular device amongst the nation's clergy; the same may be said of the fleur-de-lys or familiar beasts such as the squirrel. It is, perhaps, more surprising to find the identical design of beech leaves placed in a cross shape occurring as far apart as Yorkshire and Kent (216-216b). In this case, the legend is legible on only one Yorkshire example (LEL AMI AVET), but other designs show the use of very varied legends around devices which are identical in concept and form, if not execution. One of the best examples is provided by two seals found near Peterborough and Sandwich in Kent respectively (250-250a). Both illustrate an armed, mounted knight in profile, raised sword in hand; their debt to earlier equestrian seals is obvious. However, where the one has a male personal name for a legend, the other is amatory: CELE:KI:IE:EIM:IE:LA:DESIR (She whom I love, I long for; Fig. 15). Pieces such as these, which bear close similarities in device but not legend, illustrate the diverse uses to which the same designs could be put, a point noted above in relation to matrices bearing a device of a pelican in her piety. However, they do more than this, for they also illustrate the existence of a corpus of 'standard designs' across the country, not dissimilar from those found in other visual arts such as the carving of misericords. However, whereas at least some similar misericords are believed have been carved by the same team of carvers, seals are thought to have been produced locally, and their relative uniformity provides an insight into both the mobility of ideas within mediaeval society, and that same society's degree of sophistication.

APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF SEALS ILLUSTRATED

(letters in [] brackets are expansions; ~ represents a stroke above or through the upper part of the final letter; it is not the same mark as the apostrophe commonly encountered)

Figure 1

Reference number: Sealmat 38

Date: 12th-13th century

Measurements: unknown

Find Place: Weaverthorpe, North Yorkshire

Composition: Lead

Legend: SIGILVM WILLM - - GISW-N

Translation: The seal of William ?

Figure 2

Reference number: Sealmat 115

Date: 13th century

Measurements: 21 mm x 33 mm, weight 6.7 gs.

Find Place: Coxwold, near Thirsk.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: SIGILLVM WILLI DAREL

Translation: The Seal of William Darel.

Figure 3

Reference number: Sealmat 186

Date: 13th century

Measurements: 19 mm x 30 mm.

Find Place: Near Thirsk.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: S' AGATHA _AREL~ DE SEZAY

Translation: The Seal of Agatha _arell de Sessay.

Figure 4

Reference number: Sealmat 153

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: 25.5 mm diameter, 12 mm; weight 10.3 gs.

Find Place: South Elmsall, South Yorkshire.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: +S'.MAURICIUS BRUN

Translation: The Seal of Maurice Brun.

Figure 5

Reference number: Sealmat 234

Date: 15th century

Measurements: diameter 30 mm, height 25 mm (approx.).

Find Place: Levisham, north of Pickering, North Yorkshire.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: +S' G[ui]ll[iem]ús : dnis : Percehay_ _m [*sic*]
(note that all "s"s are long)

Translation: The Seal of William, Lord Percehay.

Figure 6

Reference number: Sealmat 167

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: 18.5 mm diameter, 26 mm high; weight 8.7 gs.

Find Place: Stancill Farm, near Tickhill.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: *IE SVY DEGISE

Translation: I am disguised (Je suis déguisé).

Language: French.

Figure 7

Reference number: Sealmat 164a

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: face 20 mm diameter, 13 mm high (maximum dimensions).

Find Place: The vicinity of York.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: *SVM LEO:F'DELIS

Translation: I am a faithful lion.

Figure 8

Reference number: Sealmat 181

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: 20 mm diameter.

Find Place: Riccall, near York.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: +IESV ISELA AMI LEL

Translation: Jesus is her loyal friend.

Language: French.

Figure 9

Reference number: Sealmat 001

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: 30 mm x 50 mm approx.

Find Place: Close to St Columba's church, Topcliffe.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: +S[IGILLUM]'CO[N]VENTVS FR[ATRU]M P[RE]'DICATO[RUM]
DE CASTRO PVELLA[RUM]

Translation: The Seal of the Convent of the Friars Preacher of the Castle of Maidens (Edinburgh).

Figure 10

Reference number: Sealmat 99

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: Maximum dimensions 23 mm x 22 mm.

Find Place: Near Beverley Minster, Beverley, East Yorkshire.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: *S[IGILLUM]'PENIT[ENTIARI] ECC[LESIE] _____ BE]VE[R]LACI

Translation: The Seal of the Penancer of the Church of ____ of Beverley

Figure 11

Reference number: Sealmat 121

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: Maximum dimensions 22 mm x 37 mm; weight 14.3 gs.

Find Place: Near Doncaster

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: S' FRIS IACOBI ARCHIDIACONI

Translation: The Seal of Brother James the Archdeacon.

Figure 12

Reference number: Sealmat 178

Date: 13th century

Measurements: face 17 mm x 21.5 mm, 22 mm high to top of loop; weight 9.6 gs.

Find Place: Near A1 at Rossington, Doncaster.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: *W·DEBE·TRIBVE CELI CAD L'CIF IVE

Translation: "William Debe: Give the transitory objects of the chisel to Lucifer, pay the price". (*caelum*, 'chisel, engraving tool'; *caduca*, 'transitory thing')

Figure 13

Reference number: Sealmat 174

Date: 13th century

Measurements: 21 mm x 31 mm; weight 6.8 gs.

Find Place: Field near Jervaulx Abbey, West Yorkshire.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: **MISS'.EST GABRIEL AD MARI'**

Translation: Gabriel was sent to Mary.

Figure 14

Reference number: Sealmat 168a

Date: 13th - 14th century

Measurements: face 20 mm maximum dimension (original diameter), 19 mm high; weight 4.5 g (approx.).

Find Place: Spittal, near Bolton, East Yorks..

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: **+DODOLOFROBIN**

Figure 15

Reference number: Sealmat 250a

Date: 13th century

Measurements: 30 mm diameter, 3 mm thick.

Find Place: Close to A1, Wansford area, near Peterborough.

Composition: Copper alloy

Legend: **+CELE:KI:IE:EIM:IE:LA:DESIR**

Translation: She whom I love, I long for (celle qui j'aime, je la désir).

Language: A form of Mediaeval French.

EXEMPLARY WIVES AND GODLY MATRONS: WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE LIFE OF YORK MINSTER BETWEEN THE REFORMATION AND THE CIVIL WAR

By Claire Cross

This article considers the effect upon York Minster, since the Norman Conquest an exclusively male preserve, of the legislation permitting the clergy to marry passed by Parliament for the first time during the reign of Edward VI, abnegated under Mary but then reinstated on Elizabeth's accession. While little information, apart from the fact of their marriages, survives for some of the pioneering women who dared to break an age long taboo by establishing clerical households within the close, others, for whom the evidence is more abundant, emerge as active disseminators of Protestantism in the initially conservative city and diocese of York.

In March 1508 Maud Hancock, widow of Robert Hancock, alderman and grocer, of the parish of St Michael, Spurriergate bequeathed £10 'to one honest priest of good name and fame to sing divine service in my foresaid parish kirk and to pray for my soul, my husband's soul, my father's soul and my mother's soul and for all Christian souls by the space of two years immediately ensuing after the day of my decease.' Time and again when endowing commemorative masses of this kind York testators went on to specify that they should be celebrated by a virtuous – that is a celibate – priest. At least until the death of Henry VIII in January 1547 the great majority of the Minster community and the citizenry at large continued to look upon the clergy as a caste apart, 'bound to live purely and chastely like angels'. For these sort of traditionalists, Martin Luther's revolutionary teachings on the priesthood of all believers and the right of the clergy to marry held very few attractions.¹

In the sixteenth century, however, it was the state not the localities that determined new directions in religion. In the 1530s the Crown in Parliament had renounced the authority of the pope, required the clergy to recognise the royal supremacy over the Church, and dissolved all the monasteries, but the king, idiosyncratic in his beliefs, had remained a firm advocate of clerical celibacy. The establishment of an avowedly reformist government on the accession of Edward VI brought about a totally different political situation. For the first time Thomas Cranmer – secretly married to the niece of a German Lutheran pastor since July 1532, some months before his promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury – had the freedom to devise an explicitly Protestant vernacular liturgy, and in 1549 Parliament passed a law permitting clerical marriage.

By and large the northern clergy had shown markedly less interest than

¹ Borthwick Institute [henceforth BI], York Probate Registers, Prob. Reg., 7 ff. 52r–53v; Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 142, 161–62, 173; Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand. A Life of Martin Luther* (London, 1950), pp. 153–54, 223–37. I am much indebted in this article to Mary Prior, 'Reviled and Crucified Marriages: the Position of Tudor Bishops' Wives', in *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London, 1985), pp. 118–48. The spelling in all quotations has been modernised.

their southern counterparts in the new theological ideas that had been penetrating the country from the continent in the previous three decades, and the history of clerical marriage in the diocese of York begins – and, if Mary Tudor had produced an heir, might well have ended – in the reign of Edward VI. The archbishop of York at the time was Robert Holgate, a member of a minor gentry family from Hemsworth in the West Riding, who had joined the Gilbertines as a very young man and, after a period of study at Cambridge, risen to become master of his order. Because of his loyalty to the government during the Pilgrimage of Grace, in 1537 he had been appointed to the bishopric of Llandaff and to the newly reconstituted Council in the North, of which he had become president the following year. Between July 1538 and December 1539 Holgate had superintended the surrender of all the Gilbertine houses in England, receiving in place of a pension a grant for life of the site of Watton priory, with its various manors in Yorkshire and its mansion house in London. Then, on the death of Edward Lee, largely to economise on his salary as President of the Council in the North, early in 1545 the king had advanced him to the archbishopric of York.²

Not having openly supported the new religion during the life time of Henry VIII, in 1547 Holgate felt under pressure to demonstrate his allegiance to the Edwardian regime – or so he alleged in the altered circumstances of the subsequent reign – with the king's uncle, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, urging him to provide an outward and visible sign of his Protestant commitment, and the future duke of Northumberland, John Dudley, more threateningly 'using to call him papist'. So, partly out of obedience, partly out of fear, at the age of sixty-eight he threw caution to the winds and took a wife in the belief 'verily then that he might have done so by God's laws and the king's'.³

For his bride Holgate chose Barbara Wentworth, one of the daughters of Roger Wentworth, a minor gentleman of Adwick le Street near Doncaster. An unlikely pioneer, for she does not seem to have been motivated by religious conviction, she nonetheless was a young woman who knew her own mind. Some eighteen years previously, when a little girl of four, Barbara had been married in Adwick church to Anthony Norman, a neighbour's six year-old son, and both she and Anthony had then lived as brother and sister in her father's house. To validate such a marriage both parties would have needed to have given their informed consent on coming of age. Pressed repeatedly when a teenager on her feelings for Anthony, Barbara had answered that 'she could not fancy or favour him other ways than she fancied or favoured all other', and to the direct question whether she would take him as her husband she had replied 'No'. Anthony for his part had then accepted defeat, announcing 'if she could not fancy him, he was contented that she should take whom she would'. So the matter had rested, and both parties seem to have considered themselves free to marry elsewhere.⁴

While an alliance with a very wealthy and influential churchman was undoubtedly financially far more advantageous for Barbara than a match with Anthony Norman, at this date it still carried a real risk of social ostracism. Neither

² Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 72, 249–51, 361; A. G. Dickens, *Robert Holgate Archbishop of York and President of the King's Council in the North*, Borthwick Paper no. 8 (York, 1955), p.18.

³ 'Archbishop Holgate's Apology' in A. G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982), p. 355.

⁴ BI, Cause Papers, CP G 404.

the canon nor the secular law yet sanctioned the marriage of the clergy, and at Adwick le Street her own curate, Robert Parkyn, refused to admit 'that it was lawful by God's law [for] priests to marry women'. This time, however, Barbara went along with the proceedings and a preacher, Dr Roger Tongue, performed a clandestine wedding ceremony late in 1547 or early in 1548. Public recognition followed after the 1549 Act of Parliament and 'the said archbishop and Barbara was joined together in marriage at Bishopthorpe the 15 day of January [1550].'⁵

The marriage met with a very mixed reception in Yorkshire. In the privacy of his study, Parkyn deplored the archbishop's 'lewd example', and there were mutterings in the close, with John Houseman subsequently complaining that Holgate had refused to ordain him to the priesthood 'because he was one of them in the Minster that said that it were better for priests not to marry than for to marry.' Then, in the autumn of 1551, almost certainly influenced by the prospect of financial gain, Anthony Norman entered the fray, and appealed to the Privy Council for the restitution of his conjugal rights, asserting 'the said [arch]bishop's wife to be his'.⁶

Initially the king's advisors took the charge of bigamy very seriously, and summoned both defendants to London on 20 November, only to countermand the order three days later and delegate the investigation to certain members of the Council in the North. At this juncture lawyers appear to have cited the verdict in the 1549 annulment case, with the result that Norman lost his claim for damages, and Holgate and Barbara continued to live together as man and wife for the rest of the reign.⁷

To safeguard his young wife's economic future, and perhaps conscious of the king's declining health, on 27 May 1553 Holgate acquired the manor of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire in the name of himself and Barbara and the longer liver of the two. Little more than a month later Edward VI died, Northumberland failed in his attempt to divert the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and before the end of July Mary Tudor had made good her right to the throne. Almost immediately the new government began reimposing the old canon law and on the 4 October imprisoned Holgate in the Tower, together with three other Edwardian bishops. Foremost among their 'grave and enormous crimes and sins' was the fact of their marriages 'after express profession of chastity', and for this they were deprived of their sees on 16 March 1554.⁸

Totally broken by his ordeal, Holgate reverted to Catholicism and then petitioned the queen for pardon, 'truly and humbly repenting himself' for having 'married unwisely, giving evil example to other to do the like'. He obtained his freedom after the payment of a huge fine in January 1555 and died, aged about seventy-four, in his house in St Sepulchre's parish in the city of London the following November.⁹

For two and a half years after Holgate's death, Barbara Wentworth, 'otherwise called Barbara Holgate, commonly called and known by the name of the late wife of Robert late archbishop of York, deceased', enjoyed the revenues from Scrooby before exchanging the manor in June 1558 for the tithes of the Yorkshire rectory of Royston. Whatever her legal status, with an income of more than £40 a year she would at

⁵ A. G. Dickens, 'The Marriage and Character of Archbishop Holgate', *English Historical Review*, 52 (1937), pp. 428–33; 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation' in Dickens, *Reformation Studies*, pp. 300, 301.

⁶ 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', pp. 298, 300; Dickens, 'The Marriage and Character of Archbishop Holgate', *EHR*, 52, pp. 433–38.

⁷ Dickens, 'Marriage and Character of Archbishop Holgate', *EHR*, 52, pp. 433–35.

⁸ Dickens, *Robert Holgate*, p. 27.

⁹ 'Archbishop Holgate's Apology', in Dickens, *Reformation Studies*, p. 357; Dickens, *Robert Holgate*, pp. 30–31.

least have been able to live as an independent gentlewoman until her death in 1566 or 1567.¹⁰

Even when the law had allowed the clergy to marry, Barbara Wentworth had led a very isolated existence in the north of England, for there were no other clerical wives of a remotely similar rank with whom she could have consorted – none of the seven out of thirty-six Minster prebendaries who had married in the Edwardian period had resided in York. Matters changed completely, however, with the re-establishment of the royal supremacy on the accession of Elizabeth. The refusal of Archbishop Heath and about half the York chapter to renounce their allegiance to the pope left the Crown with no alternative to replacing them with married Protestant ministers, and a veritable phalanx of largely southern gentlewomen began to invade the close.¹¹

Thomas Young, Nicholas Heath's successor as archbishop of York, had married twice when precentor of St David's in the Edwardian period, his first short-lived wife being the daughter of the registrar of the diocese, his second, Jane, the daughter of Thomas Kynaston, gentleman, of Estwick in Staffordshire. Having spoken out in defence of his evangelical beliefs in the first convocation of Mary's reign, he had subsequently fled to the Low Countries and Jane Young may possibly have accompanied him into exile. Young served as archbishop for only seven years before he died in Sheffield in 1568. By this date he had accumulated a considerable fortune, leaving in his will to his 'well beloved wife Jane Young alias Kynaston' a twenty-one years lease of manors in Shropshire and Yorkshire together with lands and tenements in the close at York should she live so long, the property then reverting to their son George, or if he died without heirs, to their daughter Jane. In fact Mrs Young survived her husband for over forty years, and for all this time maintained her household in the city. When she in her turn came to make her will in 1612, having in a very Protestant preamble commended her soul to 'Almighty God, not doubting to be partaker of his heavenly kingdom prepared for his elect by the merits of my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ only', she asked to be buried in the Minster 'near unto Thomas Young, my late husband, deceased'.¹²

The arrival of the Young household at Bishopthorpe coincided almost exactly with the appearance in the close of the new chancellor, Richard Barnes. Though a native of Lancashire Barnes had married a southerner, Fredesmund, the daughter of Ralph Gifford of Claydon in Buckinghamshire. They had a large family of nine children, the older of whom were born in the city before Barnes left to become bishop of Carlisle in 1570 and then, seven years later, bishop of Durham. During his time in York he attacked the 'absurd doings of every pope' and went to some lengths to explain to the Minster auditory 'the causes of introducing their frivolous traditions'.¹³

In addition to the archbishop and chancellor, two prebendaries, Anthony Blake and Thomas Lakyn, did much to advance the cause of the married clergy in the first decade of the reign. In 1534, almost immediately after graduating from Cambridge, Blake, a Yorkshireman, had obtained the vicarage of Doncaster. Some time before Mary's accession he had married a certain Elizabeth Metcalf and on this account

¹⁰ York Minster Archives [henceforth YMA], Lease Book 1543–87, Wb ff. 101r–102r, 243v–244r.

¹¹ *A History of York Minster*, ed. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), pp. 204–06.

¹² Christina H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 348; BI, Archbishops' Registers, Abp. Reg., 30 ff. 74r–75v; Prob. Reg., 32 ff. 651v–652r.

¹³ David Marcombe, 'Barnes, Richard (1532?–1587)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004), 3, pp. 1003–06; J. C. H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York* (London, 1970), p. 30.

had lost his living in the spring of 1554. Then, having set his wife aside and been reconciled to the Catholic Church, he had been allowed to take up another benefice. In practice, however, he had found it impossible to make a total break with his family, and had appeared before the York Court of Audience in May 1556 on a charge of having 'kept suspect company with the said Elizabeth since Michaelmas last unto his proceeding to London' and with recently lighting 'at her house where she inhabiteth in Doncaster and there continued to the evil example of the inhabitants of Doncaster'.¹⁴

Unlike Barbara Wentworth's last days, this story had a happy ending. Blake returned to his wife on the death of Mary Tudor and in 1560 obtained repossession of the vicarage of Doncaster. Among much other preferment he secured the prebend of Tockerington in 1562 and from 1566 to 1570 served as a residentiary canon in the Minster. In his very Protestant will of 28 August 1570 he referred, surely with conscious deliberation, to 'Elizabeth, my wife, with whom I am coupled in the fear of God and in the honourable state of matrimony', and bequeathed his entire estate to her and their nine children, Anthony, Thomas, Francis, Samuel, Daniel, Margaret, John, Edward and Constable Blake.¹⁵

The third member of this inner circle of convinced Protestant canons, Thomas Lakyn, a Lincolnshire gentleman and doctor of divinity, seems to have married when a student at St John's College, Cambridge – Elizabeth Lakyn possessed leases and copyholds in her own right in the Isle of Ely. In 1554 he had fled to the continent with the Master of his college, Thomas Lever, settling in Strasbourg, and his wife may well have shared his exile. Lakyn acquired the Yorkshire rectory of Bolton Percy in 1560 and the prebend of Wistow in 1564. Though never a residentiary, he attended chapter meetings fairly regularly between 1566 and 1574. When he died in 1575, he entrusted his wife with the education of their only son, Matthew.¹⁶

In 1567 Matthew Hutton, the regius professor of divinity at Cambridge since 1562, succeeded the non-resident Nicholas Wotton, who had held the deanery of York in combination with that of Canterbury without a break from 1544. Hutton had married Katherine Fulmesby, the niece of Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, in 1564, but she had lived only for a few further months, and just before he had left Cambridge he had married for the second time, his new wife being Beatrice, daughter of Sir Thomas Fincham of Outwell in the Isle of Ely. Their eight children were all born in York, one of their four daughters later marrying George Slater, prebendary of Barnby and rector of Bainton, and another marrying Richard Remington, archdeacon of Cleveland. Pious and faithful, Beatrice Hutton died relatively young in May 1582 and was buried in the Minster.¹⁷

For years some local inhabitants continued to harbour suspicion, if not downright hostility, towards these clerical families who had come to dwell in their midst. In 1570, having attended a sermon in the Minster with the lord mayor and other members of the corporation in which 'the preacher did speak of the marriage of the apostles, affirming them to be married and to have accompanied [lived] with their wives', Alderman William Allen, 'to the discredit of the preacher and of his doctrine said

¹⁴ A. G. Dickens, *The Marian Reaction in the Diocese of York: Part I, The Clergy*, Borthwick Paper 11 (York, 1957), pp. 12–13.

¹⁵ YMA, Dean and Chapter Act Books, H 4 ff. 1r, 4r–71r; BI, Dean and Chapter Prob. Reg., 5 ff. 40v–41v.

¹⁶ Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 214–15; YMA, H 4 ff. 4r–124v; BI, Original Chancery Wills 1575.

¹⁷ *The Correspondence of Dr Matthew Hutton*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society 17 (1843), pp. 7–49; Francis Drake, *Eboracum* (London, 1736), p. 509.

that he lied falsely in so saying'. Such prejudices died hard. A decade later the High Commission, the leading ecclesiastical court for the province, heard a case against the wife of a vicar choral, William Barton, accused of having slandered married ministers, their wives and children, while as late as 1596 the wife of Nicholas Calverde of St Lawrence, Walmgate was alleged to have called Mr Patten's wife 'priest whore, and his children priest calves and priest bastards.'¹⁸

Yet these traditionalists were increasingly swimming against the tide. After the Rising of the Earls in the autumn of 1569, during which the rebels had temporarily restored the mass in Durham cathedral, the central government paid much greater attention to ensuring the loyalty of the north of England. From the moment of his arrival in York in 1570, the new archbishop, Edmund Grindal, went to great lengths to attract preaching ministers to the region, among much else appointing his former chaplain, William Palmer, to the chancellorship in 1571. Through Palmer's connection with Rowland Taylor, this reinforced yet further the links between the Minster community and the heroic period of the English Reformation.

In his *Acts and Monuments*, first published in English in 1563, John Foxe portrayed Taylor as an ideal Protestant pastor, who, though an academic and holder of high office, voluntarily devoted himself to the spiritual and physical needs of his parishioners in the Suffolk town of Hadleigh. 'His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.' Imprisoned on Mary's accession, Taylor refused to betray his faith, publicly defending not only the Protestant understanding of the Eucharist but also the right of the clergy to marry. Condemned to death for heresy, the night before his burning he consoled his wife with the hope of their future meeting in heaven: 'I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary...'¹⁹

Yet not all the children died before their father, and after Taylor had suffered at Hadleigh in February 1555 they returned with their mother to London, where a decade later Anne became the wife of William Palmer, then a prebendary of St Paul's and vicar of St Lawrence, Jewry. On his promotion in 1571 Anne Palmer moved with her husband to York. They had seven children, and one of their daughters, Ursula, in her turn married James Cock, a domestic chaplain to Archbishop Sandys, prebendary of Langtoft and master of St John's hospital at Ripon. When Palmer, 'a great, ancient and learned preacher', after forty-five years in the ministry and thirty-four years as chancellor, died aged sixty-six in 1605, his family erected a monument in the Minster which recorded with pride his marriage to a daughter of Rowland Taylor, doctor and martyr.²⁰

By the second decade of Elizabeth's reign the dean and chapter had begun to acknowledge a corporate responsibility for the wives and children of Minster dignitaries. In his will of 1578 the succentor, Anthony Ford, after leaving the bulk of his estate to his wife, Anne, and their sons Nathaniel, Timothy and Philip, asked the dean, Matthew Hutton, together with the boys' grandfather 'to be good to my poor children to see them brought up in virtue and learning'. At least one of the sons, Philip, graduated from Cambridge and followed his father into the Church,

¹⁸ Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York*, pp. 169, 194, 222.

¹⁹ *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. Josiah Pratt, 4th edn, 8 vols (London, 1877), vi, pp.676–700.

²⁰ BI, Abp. Reg. 31 f. 120v; Ronald A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560–1642* (London, 1960), p. 149; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 508.

becoming prebendary of Stillington and rector of Nunburnholm.²¹

In 1582 Matthew Hutton witnessed the will of the archdeacon of Cleveland and canon residentiary, Ralph Coulton, in which he bestowed all his possessions upon his wife and children with the intention that 'his said wife and children should be brought up and live together upon his said goods'. The following year the dean and chapter remitted £40 of the £70 owed to the Minster by Coulton on condition that his widow, Margaret, gave each of their five children £6 13s. 4d. over and above their father's legacy when they married or came of age.²²

In the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion the queen appointed the Protestant earl of Huntingdon as president of the Council in the North, and he and his equally godly wife established their household at the King's Manor in York late in 1572. Over the ensuing quarter of a century their stalwart support of the leading Minster prebendaries and their wives went a long way to procuring their acceptance in local secular society. Huntingdon worked particularly closely with Hutton, and the countess of Huntingdon thought nothing of calling upon 'good Mr. Dean' at less than a week's notice 'to bestow a short sermon' at the wedding of one of her relatives. Both Huntingdon and Hutton shared a mutual admiration for their evangelical archbishop, Edmund Grindal, and lamented his translation to Canterbury in 1575, when he was replaced by the bishop of Worcester, Edwin Sandys.²³

On first sight Sandys might well have appeared to have been a man in Grindal's mould. He, too, had fled the country for his religion in Mary's reign and joined the English community in Strasbourg where he had buried both his first wife and son, and may then have married Cicely Wilford, a member of a Cranbrook gentry family and sister of another exile, Thomas Wilford. Sandys's authoritarian nature, however, coupled with his determination to provide for his large family with a series of advantageous leases of Minster prebends, very soon put him at loggerheads with the dean and chapter, and he eventually abandoned the county entirely for his episcopal palace in Southwell. Understandably in the circumstances, after her husband's death in 1588, Cicely Sandys showed no inclination to join the other archiepiscopal widow, Jane Young, in York, but settled instead with her son, Miles, on the family estate at Woodham Ferrers in Essex.²⁴

Sandys's unmarried successor, John Piers, lived for less than six years, and then, after five years as bishop of Durham, Matthew Hutton came back to the city as archbishop early in 1595. Late in 1582, while still dean of York, Hutton had married for the third time, his new wife being Frances, widow of Martin Bowes and daughter-in-law of the very wealthy York-born London merchant, Sir Martin Bowes. This was 'the right worshipful Mistress Frances Hutton' with whom the pious Lady Margaret Hoby 'talked ... of religion' on her visit to Bishopthorpe in September 1599, and to whom Christopher Gregory, the archdeacon of the West Riding and Hutton's former chaplain, left a spur royal in his will of 1600. The archbishop died in 1606; his widow, who had taken charge of the education of her grandson, survived in her house in Coppergate for a further fifteen years.²⁵

As individuals these clerical wives, in no small part collectively responsible for

²¹ BI, D & C Prob. Reg., 5 f. 92v.

²² BI, D & C Prob. Reg., 5 f. 107r-v; YMA, H 4 f. 205v.

²³ *Hutton Correspondence*, ed. J. Raine, p. 56.

²⁴ Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, pp. 283-84; Prior, 'Reviled and Crucified Marriages' in *Women in English Society*, pp. 130, 140.

²⁵ *Hutton Correspondence*, ed. J. Raine, p. xxiv; *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* ed. Dorothy M. Meads (London, 1930), p. 73; BI, D & C Prob. Reg., 5 ff. 158r-159r; Orig. Chancery Wills Nov. 1605.

creating a new Protestant society in the Minster, only rarely emerge from the shadows. This is emphatically not the case with the 'very gallant' Frances Matthew, who descended upon the city on the appointment of her husband, Toby Matthew, to the see of York in 1606. Like Anne Palmer, Frances Matthew was in every sense a child of the Reformation and positively gloried in her Protestant ancestry. Her parents having apparently married in secret in the reign of Henry VIII, she had been born around 1551, the fourth daughter of William Barlow, then bishop of Bath and Wells and a former Augustinian canon, and Agatha Wellesbourne, daughter of Humphrey Wellesbourne of High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, and perhaps a former nun. During the Marian period her father had taken refuge on the continent, where he had joined the household of the legendary Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk and her second husband, Richard Bertie, in the Rhineland, and then superintended their removal to their final sanctuary in Polish Lithuania. Her mother, in Frances's own words, 'most faithful unto her husband both in prosperity and adversity' had been 'a companion with him in banishment for the gospel sake'.²⁶

On their return to England after Elizabeth's accession, Barlow had been rewarded with the bishopric of Chichester, and from there, as they reached maturity, each of his five daughters had married into clerical families, Frances in 1569 having made potentially the best match of all on her marriage to Matthew Parker, the second son of the archbishop of Canterbury. Then tragedy had struck. Frances's husband had died in 1574, and within little more than a year his posthumously born son, also called Matthew, had followed him to the grave, leaving Frances a childless widow at the age of twenty-three. Her prospects, however, had revived on her second marriage early in 1577 to an academic and a prebendary of Salisbury, Toby Matthew, at the time president of St John's College, Oxford, but later dean of Christ Church. Over the next seven years the Matthews had three sons, Toby, John and Samuel, and a daughter, Mary, who died as a baby.²⁷

On his appointment to the deanery of Durham in 1583, Toby Matthew at last secured the promotion he desired, though his wife did not appreciate the change of scene, remonstrating with her husband, 'For God's sake get us gone hence. Why came we hither? Who but us would any longer tarry here?' Her recriminations were to no avail, and she had little choice but to reconcile herself to living in the barbarous north of England for the rest of her life. Matthew's elevation to the very wealthy bishopric of Durham in 1595 must considerably have helped sweeten the pill.²⁸

The year 1595 marked not only the appointment of Frances Matthew's husband to the see of Durham but also that of her brother-in-law, William Day, to the bishopric of Winchester, and she took great personal pride in her extended family's achievement. In August 1595 Agatha Barlow had died at the age of about ninety at Easton in Hampshire, where her son, the mathematician William Barlow, was rector, and Frances Matthew, not her brother, assumed the responsibility for erecting a monument to her memory. In addition to the more conventional commendations of her mother's

²⁶ Durham University Library, Mickleton and Spearman Mss, 23 f. 125r (I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr Rosamund Oates); Phyllis M. Hembry, *The Bishops of Bath and Wells, 1540-1640* (London, 1967), pp. 80-89; monument to Agatha Barlow erected by Frances Matthew in Easton church, Hants.

²⁷ Frances Matthew, 'The birth of all my children', YMA Add. Ms. 322; *Reading Early Modern Women*, ed. H. Ostrovich and E. Saver (New York and London, 2004), pp. 247-49.

²⁸ Sir Harris Nicolas, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London, 1847), pp. 204-06; Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (London, 1982), p. 46 quoting British Library, Cotton Ms Titus B II f. 284.

godliness, wisdom, discretion, and kind and loving nature, the inscription quite exceptionally records the achievements of her daughters.

She had seven children that came unto men and women's state, two sons and five daughters, the sons William and John, the daughters Margaret, wife unto William Overton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Anne, wife unto Herbert Westfayling, bishop of Hereford, Elizabeth ... wife unto William Day, now bishop of Winchester, Frances, wife unto Toby Matthew, bishop of Durham, Anthonine, late wife unto William Wickham, deceased, bishop of Winchester.

Two more memorials followed to two of Frances Matthew's sisters, Anthonine Wickham, and Elizabeth Day, in Alconbury church in Huntingdonshire and Eton College chapel, again celebrating the fact that the husbands of the five Barlow daughters had all to 'bishoprics ascended'.²⁹

Like her redoubtable mother, Frances Matthew aspired to establish a godly, Protestant household but her own children proved far less responsive to parental guidance. Her eldest son, Toby, brilliant but wayward, had matriculated at Oxford at the precocious age of twelve in 1590, and while still at the university began accumulating debts which, to his father's intense annoyance, he expected his mother to pay. Having taken his MA in 1597 and studied for a time in France, Toby in 1604 sought his parents' permission to travel on the continent, to which they reluctantly agreed with the proviso that he did not visit Italy or Spain. Their prohibition counted for nothing. The moment he crossed the channel Toby headed for Rome, made contact with the English recusant community and converted to Catholicism. John, their unacademic second child, showed little aptitude for anything apart from squandering money. The youngest son, Samuel, might yet have redeemed the family name, but he died 'most christianly' in Cambridge while still a student at Peterhouse on 15 June 1601.³⁰

These domestic griefs overshadowed Toby and Frances Matthew's two decades in York. John never learnt to control his finances to his parents' satisfaction. Neither the pleadings of the archbishop, a prolific preacher and renowned anti-Catholic controversialist, nor the prayers of his wife, even 'more fervent towards the puritanical sole-scripture way', had the slightest effect upon Toby, who went on to be secretly ordained to the Catholic priesthood and entered the Jesuit order.³¹

Bitterly disappointed in her two surviving sons, in her later years Frances Matthew derived some comfort from her more amenable nephews and nieces. Toby Matthew appointed Henry Wickham, the eldest son of the former bishop of Winchester and Frances's youngest sister, Anthonine, to be chancellor of the Minster in 1624, an office he held until his death some seventeen years later. His wife, Annabella Wickham, died only a year after their arrival in York and her husband put up a touching monument to her memory. The archbishop's hand must also have been behind the choice of John Scott as the new dean in 1624. Married to Frances's niece,

²⁹ Monument to Agatha Barlow, Easton church, Hants; *The Visitation of Huntingdon*, ed. H. Ellis, Camden Society 43 (1849), p. 46; T. Eustace Harwood, 'The Monumental Brasses, Past and Present, in Eton College Chapel', *Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society Transactions*, 2 (1900), p. 79; Peter Sherlock, 'Monuments, Reputation and Clerical Marriage in Reformation England: Bishop Barlow's Daughters', *Gender and History*, 16 (2004), pp. 57–82.

³⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1598–1601*, p. 4; YMA, Add. Ms. 322; *A True Historical Relation of the Conversion of Sir Tobie Matthew*, ed. A. H. Mathew (London, 1904), pp. v–xiv.

³¹ *A True Historical Relation*, ed. Mathew, p. 131.

Dorothy Westfayling, Scott, a prodigious gambler, turned out to be one of the worst deans in the cathedral's history, spending his last seven years imprisoned for debt in the King's Bench in London, where he died in 1644. Left high and dry in York, his wife and grown-up daughters found solace in the puritan conventicles of the city preacher, John Birchall.³²

Way beyond her family, Frances Matthew had long established a reputation for the training of young girls. During her time in Durham the local gentry had vied with one another to get their daughters admitted into her household, and it seems highly likely that she continued with her educational activities after she had moved to York, where she was certainly superintending the upbringing of her granddaughters, Frances and Dorcas, at the time of her death. In addition to her command of household management, contemporaries commented in particular upon her expertise as a needlewoman, but it was religion that dominated her life, her son Toby maliciously describing her as 'ever upon all occasions wont to be as busy with scripture as if it had been some glove upon her fingers' ends'. It is inconceivable that she did not also strive to instill into her charges the principles of her faith, and this at a period when the internalisation of Protestantism presupposed full literacy in English and perhaps also some knowledge of Latin.³³

Archbishop Matthew used the formal setting of his will to pay a remarkable tribute to his extraordinary wife. Having to all intents and purposes disinherited his unsatisfactory sons – Toby and John received only a token piece of plate – he bestowed practically all he possessed upon his 'beloved wife, Frances', 'relying with all confidence upon her care and providence (of which I have had good experience for the space almost of fifty years, which time it hath pleased God of his goodness to continue us together husband and wife,) to make provision for my grandchildren in such sort as my estate will bear'.³⁴

Before executing this trust, in her own extremely lengthy will composed four months after her husband's death in March 1628, when she was living in the prebendal house in the close called the Minster Garth, Frances Matthew seized the opportunity to praise God's holy name 'that he hath given me my being within this church of England, wherein I have learned the profession of Christian and saving doctrine' and to declare her 'firm resolution to pour out my last breath in the same'. This done, she proceeded to make a multitude of bequests to her brother and sisters, nieces and nephews and more distant relations. She gave £200 to Peterhouse to provide scholarships for poor students in memory of her son Samuel, but left Toby Matthew only a token gold ring and John Matthew merely the interest on £500 held in trust for his daughters. Then, as her husband had wished, she conferred the bulk of her large estate upon her four grandchildren, Josias, John, Frances and Dorcas.³⁵

Frances Matthew outlived her husband by little more than a year, dying in York aged seventy-eight on 8 May 1629, but in the short space of her widowhood she made to the Minster a benefaction far more significant than any woman had ever given before, or since. Her memorial in the Lady chapel still exudes

³² Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 518; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, pp. 44, 87.

³³ Ralph Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis* (London, 1724), pp. 156–61; Durham University Library, Mickleton and Spearman Mss 23 f. 125r; *A True Historical Relation*, ed. Mathew, p. 131.

³⁴ BI, Prob. Reg. 40 f. 195r.

³⁵ BI, Prob. Reg. 40 ff. 397r–398v.

something of the excitement this caused in the close:

Frances Matthew, first married to Matthew Parker, son to Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, afterward to Toby Matthew, that famous archbishop of this see, ... was a woman of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, bounty and indeed in other virtues not only above her sex but the times. One excellent act of her first derived upon this church, and through it flowing upon the country, deserves to live as long as the church itself. The library of the deceased archbishop, consisting of above three thousand books, she gave it entirely to the public use of this church. A rare example that so great care to advance learning should lodge in a woman's breast!³⁶

This was an impossible act to follow and no other clergy wives made a remotely comparable contribution to the life of the Minster in the early modern period. The Jacobean precentor, John Favour, and his wife Anne, another product of a clergy family, nonetheless succeeded far better in the godly education their children than his much admired 'reverend lord and master' and Mrs Matthew. Their 'well beloved and ever dutiful son', John, amply fulfilled their expectations by entering the church, he in his turn at his death in 1657 going on to exhort his offspring to be 'consorters of the saints and people of God'.³⁷

Like Archbishop Matthew, Dean Meriton, the immediate predecessor of John Scott, made a public acknowledgement of his wife's managerial skills in his will of 1624, granting Mary Meriton full authority to dispose of all his possessions to their children as she thought fit: 'she under God hath been careful to get them, to keep them, to increase them, and therefore as long as she is my widow I would have her enjoy them'. In 1636, the grief-stricken chancellor, Phineas Hodson, attributed to his late wife, Jane, and the mother of his twenty-four children, the gentler virtues of piety, modesty, generosity, hospitality and benevolence to the poor.³⁸

In these very different ways these women created a place for themselves in a hitherto exclusively masculine society. After forcible separation from their husbands, persecution and exile in the Marian period, they had responded to the restoration of Protestantism on Elizabeth's accession by establishing exemplary households for the education of the next generation in godliness and good learning. Behind the scenes – and sometimes also at the front of the stage – clergy wives had acquired a permanent role in the religious and social life of the Minster in the hundred years between the Reformation and the Civil War.

³⁶ Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 512.

³⁷ BI, Abp. Reg. 31 f. 233r; Marchant, *Puritans and the Church Courts*, p. 247.

³⁸ BI, Prob. Reg. 38 ff. 376r–377v; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 508.

‘A STIFF-NECKED, WILFUL AND OBSTINATE PEOPLE’: THE CATHOLIC LAITY IN THE NORTH YORK MOORS, c.1559–1603

By Emma Watson

This essay reassesses the role of lay men and women in the preservation of the Roman Catholic faith in the North York Moors region during the reign of Elizabeth I. Traditional views of Yorkshire as a backward and ignorant county are challenged, with evidence that the people of this region were active participants in the development and continuation of their Catholic communities and made the most of the significant numbers of missionary priests who came to England by way of the Yorkshire coast.

The common view of the North York Moors in the sixteenth century is of a remote area, far from local and central governmental and administrative machinery. The agricultural communities of Cleveland are thought of as backward, their inhabitants ignorant, uneducated and superstitious. When the changes of the Reformation swept across England, the North Riding was a place where the new faith never really took off, where people clung to the traditional rituals of Catholicism, neither knowing nor understanding the religion they followed. However, Yorkshire, along with the rest of the north, was identified by Christopher Haigh as a place where Catholic seminary priests failed to capitalise upon the conservatism of the people.¹

Considerable work has been carried out on the Yorkshire clergy in the immediate post-Reformation period, which has revealed both the continuing strength of Catholicism amongst parish priests, and also that, far from being ignored by seminarists, the North York Moors hid an extensive network of priests trained abroad.² The works of Anstruther and Bellenger identify with certainty over thirty seminary priests active in the North York Moors in the late sixteenth century, and over one hundred more working in other areas of the county.³ Some recent work has also been undertaken on the religion of sixteenth century Yorkshire gentry, and of women, but this has concentrated on the city of York and the West Riding, largely ignoring other areas.⁴ Little else has been

¹ Christopher Haigh, ‘From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism In Early Modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 31 (1981), pp. 129–47, esp. p. 145.

² See for example, Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales 1558–1850, 1. Elizabethan 1558–1603* (Durham, [1968]); G. W. Boddy, ‘Catholic Missioners at Grosmont Priory, Part I’, *Northern Catholic History*, 19 (Spring, 1984), pp. 3–8, and ‘Catholic Missioners at Grosmont Priory, Part II’, *NCH*, 20 (Autumn, 1984), pp. 3–14; Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, 2nd edition, ed. J. H. Pollen (London, 1969).

³ Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*; Dominic Aidan Bellenger, ed., *English and Welsh Priests 1558–1800* (Bath, 1984).

⁴ Sarah L. Bastow, ‘The Catholic Gentry and the Catholic Community of the City of York, 1536–1642: The Focus of a Catholic County?’, *York Historian*, 18 (2001), pp. 13–22; ‘Aspects of the Catholic Gentry of Yorkshire From the Pilgrimage of Grace to the First Civil War’, (unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2002); “Worth Nothing But Very Wilful”: Catholic Recusant Women of Yorkshire 1536–1642’, *Recusant History*, 25 (2001), pp. 591–603.

done on the religion of the Yorkshire laity since the work of Hugh Aveling in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵

The development of new approaches, especially that of cultural history, means that a renewed exploration of the religious culture of sixteenth century Yorkshire is timely; how was the English Reformation experienced by the people, and did they ever become truly Protestant? The North York Moors may have been inaccessible to any who did not know their tracks before a road was made to Saltersgate in 1750, but they were neither so isolated nor their people so ignorant and backwards as has been assumed. Cleveland's relatively high concentration of gentry families and its long accessible coastline made the area a prime target for the English Catholic mission from Douai, and this is reflected in the numbers of priests known to have worked in the area. However, it was not only the now well-established presence of Catholic clergy which led to the continuation of Catholicism in the area; the North Riding laity also played a vital role, working consciously to ensure the survival of their faith. Catholic communities developed in many moorland parishes, which remain to the present day, and the gentry provided a crucial network of patronage and protection. Often private chapels were used by the laity where a priest was non-resident, and a manor with a Catholic lord and resident or visiting priests was more likely than one with a conformist lord to develop into a centre of recusancy.⁶ Primarily using evidence from the Archbishops' visitation returns, this essay will discuss the role of the Catholic laity in the formation and continuation of Catholic communities in the Elizabethan North York Moors, and the importance of their role in the preservation of Catholicism in the north.

THE REFORMATION IN THE NORTH YORK MOORS

In many ways the Reformation hit Yorkshire particularly hard. The dissolution of first the monasteries and then the chantries removed essential sources of spiritual and material succour, and many moorland parishes were subsequently left ill provided with clerical services. The deprivation of priests for non-conformity only worsened the problem, and few university-educated clergymen would accept a position in the poor isolated parishes of the moors. Pluralism was rife, and it is likely that some parishioners saw Protestant ministers as rarely as they saw Catholic priests. On the other hand, the non-residence of an incumbent could entail considerable religious freedom for his parishioners, and make it almost impossible to enforce regular attendance at services. It is highly probable that the continued vacancy of several of the dependent chapelries of Whitby during the reign of Elizabeth is not entirely unrelated to the growth of recusancy in the area. Many people undoubtedly conformed, but surviving documentary evidence is unfortunately scarce for the North York Moors. There are no extant sixteenth century churchwardens' accounts for Cleveland, so it is impossible to know the extent to which religious injunctions were obeyed, but those for the North Riding parishes of Sheriff Hutton, Easingwold, and Marske in Richmondshire do survive and, in common with those from other areas, reveal thorough and swift compliance.⁷ As Richmondshire was later to become one of

⁵ Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholics of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558–1790* (London, 1966).

⁶ J. T. Cliffe, *Yorkshire Gentry From the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1969), p. 207.

⁷ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 20; Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 107–108.

the greatest centres of northern recusancy it is possible to suggest from the Marske evidence that this was normal across the North Riding, and that formal compliance was not a decisive measure of religious conformity.

By contrast to the absence of parochial records, the archdiocese of York has a remarkably complete set of sixteenth century archbishops' visitation returns, which commence with the ordinary visitation of Thomas Young in 1567–68 and continue in an unbroken series into the seventeenth-century. The presentments recorded in these visitations for the flouting of ecclesiastical laws provide a valuable glimpse of the extent of religious conformity in the parishes of the North York Moors, as well as the lengths to which parishioners were prepared to go to avoid participating in official services. Nevertheless it must be understood that the visitation returns cannot provide a comprehensive testimony to people's religious beliefs. They were designed to allow diocesan authorities to define ecclesiastical policies, identify adherence to injunctions and laws, collect information about offenders and correct irregularities and defects, and even at the time they were conducted they were not regarded as an effective way of dealing with non-conformity.⁸ Punishments for religious offences were meted out by the ecclesiastical courts, the Northern High Commission and, after the designation of recusancy as a treasonable offence, by the secular courts,⁹ but in many ways the Reformation made the church courts less effective. Rapidly changing religious policies led to increasing contempt for spiritual censures, and Hugh Aveling has demonstrated that few of those charged with recusancy in Cleveland ever attended court.¹⁰ In Yorkshire at least conservative officials were reluctant to impose strict compliance when dealing with non-conformity.¹¹ Indeed, Archbishop Thomas Young found the situation so bad he compelled local officials to take the oath of supremacy, though some, such as the JP Robert Meynell, seem to have avoided doing so.¹² Additionally the threat of excommunication, the harshest sentence which the ecclesiastical court was able to render, mattered little to Catholics who would have had no desire to attend an Anglican service. When the services of the parish church were required, such as for the rites of passage, it was relatively easy for Catholics to secure absolution from a sentence of excommunication by the payment of a fine.¹³ Furthermore, surviving presentments are likely to be only a small percentage of actual cases. Churchwardens acted as filters, presenting only the most persistent offenders and those who would not respond to local chivvyng. This prevented the courts from being swamped with business, but also makes it almost impossible to gain an accurate picture of the extent of Catholic non-conformity and resistance.¹⁴ Nevertheless, despite their drawbacks the diocesan visitation

⁸ J. S. Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents in the Diocese of York* (Cambridge, 1948), p. xiii.

⁹ There is insufficient space here to discuss the role of the courts in the trials and punishments of those arrested for religious misdemeanours, but works such as Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation 1520–1570* (Oxford, 1979); Roland A. Marchant, *The Church Under the Law: Justice Administration and Discipline in the Diocese of York 1560–1640* (Cambridge, 1969) and Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1987) provide interesting and informative accounts.

¹⁰ Aveling states that only 6 of the 208 Clevelanders presented for recusancy or persistent non-communication in the 1590 visitation appeared in court. *Northern Catholics*, p. 147.

¹¹ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 102–103; Houlbrooke, *Church Courts*, p. 257.

¹² W. R. Trimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England 1558–1603* (Massachusetts, 1964), p. 17; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 77.

¹³ Marchant, *The Church Under the Law*, p. 204.

¹⁴ Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp. 107 and 327–28.

returns provide some of the most extensive records of the extent of Catholic non-conformity amongst the Yorkshire laity.

Henrician religious laws had little effect at local levels, priests were still ordained by Catholic rites and most people continued to practise Catholicism in much the same way as they always had. The monastic dissolutions effectively flooded the clerical market, meaning that, despite a dramatic drop in the number of ordinations from the 1530s, Yorkshire was abundantly supplied with conservative clergy throughout the mid-Tudor period. Indeed several ex-monks remained active members of the parish clergy in Cleveland into the 1570s and beyond.¹⁵ Perhaps because of this even Edward VI's Protestant regime had little tangible effect at local levels and met with no real resistance in the North York Moors. The 1549 rising at Seamer, near Scarborough, was the only open opposition to the Edwardian policies in Yorkshire, but even this was on a small scale when compared to the rebellions of the same year in East Anglia and the South West. Nor did Edwardian commissioners visit every parish, and it was therefore relatively easy for people to hide away Catholic ornaments and vestments in the hope that they would be needed again.¹⁶ Judging by the speed with which the Catholic Mass was restored, most parishes seem to have welcomed the Marian restoration of Catholicism, although A. G. Dickens argues that there was little positive evidence to support this idea.¹⁷ In fact many parishes probably reverted to the use of the Mass before they were officially instructed to do so, and many more probably never rescinded it. Perhaps more significantly, there were no lay Marian Protestant martyrs from the York diocese. That this early conservatism continued, and then hardened into recusancy, amongst the parishioners of the North York Moors is clearly demonstrated by the visitation returns. Elizabethan commissioners were more thorough than their Edwardian predecessors, and actively sought out hidden Catholic goods for destruction, the discovery of some of which can be seen in the visitation returns.¹⁸ On the other hand presentments by parishioners of their clergy for failing to preach or use prescribed service books were infrequent, suggesting missing Protestant equipment was not of prime importance to the North Yorkshire laity. At the same time the numbers accused of recusancy, non-communication and non-attendance at church grew significantly during Elizabeth's reign, prompting Cecil's principal informant to call the area a 'Bishopric of Papists'.¹⁹

RECUSANCY

Prior to the 1580s recusancy as such did not exist, and the term itself does not appear in the Cleveland visitation returns until 1582.²⁰ Recusant was a legal term coined for referral to any who refused to comply with current ecclesiasti-

¹⁵ *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire*, ed. Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 150 (1995).

¹⁶ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale, 1992), p. 491.

¹⁷ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509–1558* (Oxford, 1959; repr. London, 1982), pp. 213, 238, 251.

¹⁸ Borthwick Institute, Archbishop's Visitation Returns, V.1567–8, Court Book, CB.1, fols 125r and 190v (Danby); V.1575/CB.1, fol. 54v (Guisborough); and V.1578–9/CB.1, fols 118r and 131r (Birkby)

¹⁹ Jack Binns, 'Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby 1600–1657: His Life and Works' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1990), p. 50.

²⁰ The wife of Robert Burton of Egton is the first person referred to as a recusant in the Cleveland returns, BI, V.1582, fol. 234r

cal laws, and was used for both Catholics and Protestant sectaries. As there is no evidence of any sectarianism in Cleveland in this period it seems certain all those listed as recusant in the visitation returns were Catholic. Accusations of recusancy, along with those for non-communication and absence from church, were by far the most common religious offences. Recusancy alone occurred in over half of all parishes in Elizabethan Cleveland, clearly demonstrating the presence of strong Catholic beliefs amongst the parishioners, who were refusing any involvement in their parish church. Amongst those parishes without recusancy, almost all had cases of non-communication or non-attendance.²¹ Non-communication also reveals a religious disaffection with the Established Church through an avoidance of the central part of the Protestant church service, the Eucharist, and many Catholic families chose to conform to this degree to avoid recusancy fines. Simple failure to attend church services may have been for a number of reasons entirely unrelated to religion, but the general religious temper of the North York Moors suggests that non-attendance was a fair indication that enthusiasm for the new religion was lacking.²²

The number of presentments for recusancy in Egton parish was particularly high, and doubtless the proximity of the Catholic mission centre at the former Grosmont priory was a significant factor in this. Certainly Catholicism long continued in Egton, for a study of a list of Roman Catholics in nineteenth-century Egton Bridge reveals many surnames shared with prominent Egton recusants of the later sixteenth century.²³ Egton, however, was unique in its tradition of peasant support for the Catholic community. Farming families such as the Hodgesons and Postgates were important Catholics and it was often they rather than the gentry here who sent their sons abroad to train as Catholic missionaries.²⁴ By the mid 1570s a group of Egton parishioners had begun to withdraw from Established Church services, and this initial group were to prove fruitful ground for the Catholic mission arriving in the area in the early 1590s.²⁵ This is evidence that ex-monastic and Marian priests were active in the area in the years before the arrival of the seminarists, supporting the suggestion that Cleveland saw a continuity of the old faith, which formed a strong foundation for the missionary priests to build upon. Certainly by 1595 the Archbishop of York was naming numerous Egton recusants, ranging in social status from the wealthy freehold farmer, Richard Smith, to poor women and members of a group of travelling ‘players’ resident in Egton at the time. A century later, in 1690,

²¹. See Appendices for the scale and distribution of recusancy and non-communication in Cleveland parishes, and, by way of comparison, for the neighbouring deanery of Ryedale.

²². For example, disability, ill-health, work, child-minding, fear of arrest, lack of decent clothing, attendance at local games, dances, music and drinking events. Martin Ingram, ‘From Reformation to Toleration: Popular Religious Cultures in England 1540–1690’ in *Popular Culture in England c.1500–1850*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke, 1995) provides a fuller discussion of this than there is room for here, but the visitation returns do have examples from Whitby of men who kept their shops open and widows who permitted drinkers in their alehouses during service time. BI, V.1595–6/CB.3, fols 148v–149r

²³. See Appendices. The number of presentments for recusancy in Egton across all the Elizabethan visitations was 158, almost twice as many as the next highest, the much larger town of Whitby, with 81. For the nineteenth-century list see David Smallwood, *The Roman Catholic Mission, Egton Bridge, North Yorkshire* (np, nd).

²⁴. W. J. Sheils, ‘Catholics and Their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry 1590–1780’, *Northern History*, 34, (1998), pp. 109–34, see pp. 111–12.

²⁵. Sheils, ‘Catholics and Their Neighbours’, pp. 112–13.

Recusancy Presentments in Ryedale 1586-1600



Egton district was still recorded as having the largest number of lay recusants in the North Riding.²⁶ The Catholic missionary, Nicholas Postgate, martyred at York in 1679, was born at Egton Bridge circa 1599. His parents, James and Margaret, were presented as obstinate recusants in nearby Danby in 1595–96, and other Postgates appeared in 1594, 1595–96 and 1600 in Ugglebarnby and Eskdale.²⁷ Additionally, in 1604 a William Postgate is reported to have taught Catholicism to children in Egton parish.²⁸ John Hodgeson, who leased Grosmont priory from the Cholmleys of Whitby, was repeatedly returned for recusancy throughout this period and made Grosmont into one of the most important centres of the English Catholic mission in the north of England. He seems to have escaped severe punishment, and remained at Grosmont, continuing to receive priests even after officials raided the priory in 1599. His son, Richard, later became a Benedictine monk at Douai.²⁹ Hodgeson's nearest neighbours, the Salvins of Newbiggin Manor, which also became a Catholic Mass centre, were former patrons of Grosmont priory, and both they and the Smiths of nearby Bridge House were habitual recusants.³⁰

Linked to the Mass centres at Grosmont and Egton was that at Ugthorpe manor in the parish of Lythe, home to the Catholic Radcliffe family, who also held the nearby Mulgrave estates. The construction of a Catholic chapel at Ugthorpe in 1812 suggests the Catholic tradition there had remained strong, and the numerous presentments from the parish for recusancy in the visitation returns, including several members of the Radcliffe family, reveals Lythe parish to have had a vibrant lay Catholic community in the Elizabethan era.³¹ A substantial recusant community was also present at Fylingdales. In his examination of 1593 the seminary priest, Thomas Clarke, admitted saying Mass there, and a 1614 list of all the recusants in the parish included the names of several families who had members presented for recusancy during the reign of Elizabeth.³² In some cases these were the same people. Elizabeth Chapman, for example, a sixty-year-old widow in 1614, was presented in each visitation from 1586 to 1600, and her husband, son and daughters also appear in the 1600 returns.³³ Many smaller pockets of lay recusancy also existed, which were no less significant to the overall survival of Catholicism in the North York Moors. Christopher Stonehouse, who owned two small properties in Dunsley, had two daughters

²⁶ Sheils, 'Catholics and Their Neighbours', pp. 112–13; Elizabeth Hamilton, *The Priest of the Moors, Reflections of Nicholas Postgate* (London, 1980) p. 41.

²⁷ BI, V.1594/CB, fol. 136v; V.1595–6/CB.3, fols 150r–150v; V.1600/CB.1B, fols 247r–247v; Hamilton, *The Priest of the Moors*, pp. 13 and 41; Father David Quinlan, *The Father Postgate Story* (Whitby, 1967) p. 5.

²⁸ Edward Peacock, ed. *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York 1604* (1872), pp. 97–98.

²⁹ BI, V.1586/CB, fol. 116r; V.1590–1/CB.1, fol. 199r; V.1594/CB, fol. 133r; V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 148r; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 233v; Boddy, 'Catholic Missioners, Part II', p. 12.

³⁰ BI, V.1590–1/CB.1, fol. 199r; V.1594/CB, fol. 133r; V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 148r; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 233v; Hugh P. Kendall, 'Newbiggin in Egton and the Salvin Family', *YAJ*, 33 (1936–38), pp. 87–104, see p. 99.

³¹ J. H. Ord, *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland* (London, 1846) p. 314; Lythe had a total of 79 presentments for recusancy, making it the third largest recusant community in the North York Moors after Egton and Whitby.

³² Mary Anne Everett Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Elizabeth 1591–1594* (London, 1867), pp. 305–306. The 1614 list is printed in J. Harvey Bloom, *Robin Hoods Bay: A Retrospect* (np, nd), p. 40.

³³ Bloom, *Robin Hoods Bay*, p. 40; BI, V.1586/CB, fol. 108v; V.1590–1/CB.1, fols 164r, 184r; V.1594/CB, fol. 139r; V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 153v; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 235v.

who entered religious institutions in Europe, and five sons, one of whom became first a seminary and later a Jesuit priest, and at least one other who appeared in seventeenth century recusant lists. Christopher himself had married his second wife, Ursula, in a secret Catholic ceremony.³⁴ Despite having outwardly conformed, Marmaduke Bowes of Angram Grange near Appleton in Cleveland was executed at York in November 1585, together with Hugh Taylor, the Catholic priest he had been entertaining.³⁵ Bowes obviously came from a traditional family, for Christopher Bowes, also of Angram, left a clearly Catholic will in 1568, which had been witnessed by the parson of adjoining Welbury parish, and several other Bowes were presented for recusancy in the visitation returns for Appleton.³⁶ John Talbot, a yeoman of Thornton-le-Street, was also executed, at Durham in 1600, together with Thomas Pallaser, the priest in whose presence he was captured, and another layman, John Norton.³⁷

The residents of Hunt House on Wheeldale Moor, Goathland were also known Catholics. Goathland was a small, scattered peasant community with no manor house or rectory, and by 1572 Hunt House was occupied by Mary Harding, a relative of the Radcliffes of Ugthorpe. The house became a refuge for Catholics and Mary also employed several of the poor folk of the village, some of whom, in particular James and Dorothy Crosby, were persistent recusants.³⁸ The Conyers and Meynell families were also important gentry families with influence over the character of moorland Catholicism. The Conyers maintained a presence in Whitby at Bagdale Hall which, like the Cholmley home at Abbey House, became a Mass centre, but their main estates were at Hutton Bonville in Allertonshire, where they were presented several times for recusancy.³⁹ The Meynells, related to the Radcliffes of Ugthorpe, and also to the seminarist Richard Holtby,⁴⁰ owned several manors in Cleveland and were known to be Catholics by their contemporaries, being mentioned along with the Conyers and several other Cleveland families in an anonymous verse written around 1590 on the prominence of Catholicism in Allertonshire.⁴¹ Roger Meynell was attainted after his involvement in the Northern Rebellion, but escaped execution thanks to the intervention of his relative, Lord Scrope.⁴² Another Roger Meynell was receiving vagrant popish priests at his home in Hawnby in 1571–72, and Thomas Meynell certainly used the services of the priests George Raynes and Hugh Ile, the latter secretly marrying him to his second wife Mary in Hutton

³⁴ 'The Will of Christopher Stonehouse of Danby, Whitby, c.1564–1631', contributed by Joseph S. Hansom, *Publications of the Catholic Record Society*, 6, *Miscellanea V*, (1909), pp. 73–74; E. Peacock, *List of Roman Catholics*, p. 110. Stonehouse's will is in the Borthwick Institute, Probate Register 41, fol. 387v.

³⁵ Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, pp. 106–107.

³⁶ BI, Prob. Reg. 18, fol. 31r–v; BI, V.1586/CB, fol. 113v; V.1590–1/CB.1, fol. 194v; V.1594/CB, fol. 135v; V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 155r; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 250v.

³⁷ Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, p. 268.

³⁸ Alice Hollings, *Goathland: The Story of a Moorland Village* (Whitby, 1971), p. 16; BI, V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 145v; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 231v.

³⁹ BI, V.1586/CB, fol. 119v; V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 181r; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 252r.

⁴⁰ *Recusancy Papers of the Meynell Family*, ed. Dom Hugh Aveling, Catholic Record Society Publications, 61, *Miscellanea* (1964), pp. xxii and 12.

⁴¹ A. C. Southern, ed., 'Recusancy in the North Riding of Yorkshire (c.1590)', *Biographical Studies*, 2:2 (1953) pp. 135–149; Amongst the other names mentioned in this verse are Talbot, Metcalfe and Bowes.

⁴² Aveling, *Recusancy Papers*, pp. ix–xi.

Bonville.⁴³ Thomas and his wife were also presented for recusancy during the reign of Elizabeth, and their Catholicism is made clear in Thomas's memoirs.⁴⁴ Allertonshire, along the southwest fringe of the North York Moors was a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the Bishopric of Durham in which normal ecclesiastical jurisdiction did not apply. This fact may have contributed to the growth of strong Catholic communities here in the second half of the sixteenth century, though these seem to have been more concentrated among the gentry than those further east and, with the exception of Appleton, they were not on such a large scale as those at Egton, Whitby, Lythe and Fylingdales. Leake was home to the Danby family, and Thornton-le-Street the main seat of the Talbots, both of whom repeatedly appear presented for recusancy.⁴⁵ Further north the Bowes of Appleton have already been noted as important recusants, and their neighbours in the same parish, the Atkinson family, also feature prominently, as do the Bailes and Tocketts of Guisborough.⁴⁶ The Tocketts had shown early obstinacy in favour of the old religion, with Roger Tocketts having been imprisoned for his Catholicism as early as 1571. His equally Catholic sons avoided the same fate only by constantly migrating between their estates. The vicar of Guisborough reported repeated attempts to persuade the Bailes and Tocketts to conform without success, an experience repeated by Richard Comyn, vicar of Leake, in his dealings with the Danby family. The vicar of Pickering also reported three women for refusing to be instructed in the prescribed faith.⁴⁷

In the moors themselves only in the town of Whitby could the recusant community rival that at Egton in size, but statistics must not be allowed to detract from the overall importance of the lay Catholic communities in the moorland parishes, for the populations of these parishes were themselves invariably small. Goathland, for example, had an estimated population of only 110 to 120 persons in 1520, and Whitby itself is said to have had only 180 to 200, though this figure seems very low and may have included only adults over the age of sixteen.⁴⁸ By 1560 virtually all of the Liberty of Whitby Strand was in the possession of Richard Cholmley who, despite the Catholic sympathies of his family, seems to have put royal service before religion – though his refusal to adopt Protestantism brought him into conflict with the state after 1559.⁴⁹ Certainly Richard was known amongst his contemporaries as a Catholic: a 1572 list of the religion of all Yorkshire gentry by Thomas Gargrave, vice-president of the Council of the North, notes Richard as being a 'meane or less evyll' Catholic, but in 1580 he allowed his eldest son Henry to marry Margaret Babthorpe, a member of one of Yorkshire's most well-known recusant families. Margaret's brother William was noted by Gargrave as a Catholic of 'the worst sort', her mother

⁴³ Aveling, *Recusancy Papers*, pp. xxi–xxii and 20.

⁴⁴ BI, V.1594/CB, fol. 116v; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 253r; Aveling, *Recusancy Papers*, *passim*.

⁴⁵ BI, V.1586/CB, fols 107r, 123r; V.1594/CB, fols 116v, 118r; V.1595–6/CB.3, fol. 180v; V.1600/CB.1B, fols 252v–253r.

⁴⁶ BI, V.1586/CB, fol. 113v; V.1590–1/CB.1, fol. 194v; V.1594/CB, fol. 135v; V.1595–6/CB.3 fols 153r, 155r; V.1600/CB.1B, fols 248v, 250v.⁴⁷ *A Return of Recusants made in 1595 by the Archbishop of York to the Privy Council*, ed. Claire Talbot, Catholic Record Society Publications, 53 Miscellanea (1960) pp. 43 and 45.

⁴⁸ Hollings, *Goathland*, fwd and p. 70; Lionel Charlton *The History of Whitby and of Whitby Abbey* (York, 1779), p. 288.

⁴⁹ Binns, *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 41–42. Richard was imprisoned for accusing the Council of the North of embezzling fines after his own summons before the Council, which was ostensibly for financial reasons, but more probably because of his Catholicism.

became a nun in widowhood, and her sister Katherine was married secretly by a Catholic priest.⁵⁰ It was largely through the efforts of Margaret and her mother-in-law, Richard's second wife Katherine Clifford, daughter of the first Earl of Cumberland and widow of the eighth Lord Scrope, that Whitby became a haven for Catholic priests. Both women were notorious recusants, and, though Lady Katherine was too old and well connected to be severely punished, Margaret spent several months in gaol, along with her sister-in-law, Katherine Dutton, and the wives of five other Yorkshire gentlemen.⁵¹

Shortly after the death of Katherine Clifford in 1598, it seems that the influence of the Cholmley family within Catholicism waned, as both Henry and Margaret Cholmley conformed to the established religion, and all their heirs were Protestant.⁵² Continued persecution and mounting financial difficulties no doubt contributed to this conformity, but committed Protestant preachers were beginning to emerge in the area by this time, and perhaps the conformity of Henry and Margaret would have occurred earlier without the obstinate recusancy of Lady Scrope. Sir Hugh Cholmley, Henry's grandson, was careful to state in his memoirs that Henry was confirmed into the Protestant faith, and Margaret underwent a full conversion, suggesting Henry had always conformed, even when turning a blind eye to his wife's activities.⁵³ However Hugh also claimed that Lady Scrope died a Protestant at heart, and recorded that her final words to her daughter-in-law were to 'put all the priests out of the house.'⁵⁴ This was probably literary licence, for Hugh was not yet born when Lady Katherine died and, as a convinced Protestant himself, would have wished to show his ancestors in as good a Protestant light as he could. Henry at least seems to have become a zealous Protestant soon after his conversion, for in 1604 as JP for Whitby he personally presented twenty-three recusants, a 'retainer of recusants', a private baptism and three cases of secret marriage before the Council.⁵⁵ The Cholmleys, like many of their peers, seem to have conformed in order to address a mounting problem of debt, but it might be suggested that their debts were less a result of the constant payment of heavy recusancy fines than of Henry's extravagant lifestyle and on-going court battles with his neighbour, Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby.

Thomas Hoby was involved in almost constant litigation with his Catholic neighbours from his arrival in the area in 1597, and his vendetta against Lords Cholmley and Eure became lifelong. For Hoby they were natural targets. He was an ardent Puritan and a government agent with important court connections; they were known Catholics whose protection was allowing the people of Whitby Strand to resist the implementation of the Established religion. Hoby strove to affirm his standing in the North Riding immediately after his arrival, but faced stiff opposition from entrenched Catholic families, including, but not

⁵⁰. Gargrave's list is published in James J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the History of Yorkshire*, (Wakefield, 1872), pp. 66–72, and identifies 43 Protestants, 40 Catholics and 38 whose religion was doubtful. Most of the latter were Catholic, as were some of those identified as Protestant. Roger Radcliffe, for example, though listed as Protestant was in fact the conformist head of one of the most notorious recusant families in Cleveland.

⁵¹. Binns, *Sir Hugh Cholmley*, pp. 42, 44 and 48.

⁵². *Ibid.*, p. 70.⁵³. *The Memoirs and Memorials of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby 1600–1657*, ed. Jack Binns, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 153 (2000), p. 68.

⁵⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁵. A. G. Dickens, 'The Extent and Character of Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1604', *YAJ*, 37 (1948–51), pp. 24–48, see p. 25.

exclusively, the Eures and Cholmleys. He initiated a series of lawsuits against the Cholmleys and Eures, which in 1600 resulted in an unusual charivari.⁵⁶ Such ritual humiliation was a common form of popular justice, but was rarely employed by men of substance.⁵⁷ However the constant attacks on their faith, lands, and status provoked the Cholmley and Eure families into taking action against Hoby. By directly attacking his patriarchal honour and his authority over his household they hoped to so dishonour him as to force him to retire from the public arena, leaving them to practise their Catholicism without interference. The hunting party that sought hospitality from the Hoby household deliberately acted in a manner they knew would be both religiously and socially offensive to their host, and engaged in considerable personal and sexual defamation of both Hoby and his wife Margaret. This is an extreme example, however, and relations between Catholics and Protestants were not always so bad. Some Catholics had Protestant relatives who protected them from the worst persecution, and many, particularly those who did not openly flaunt their faith, were on friendly terms with their Protestant neighbours. Detailed work on Egton has shown that Catholics and Protestants could live together without any sign of religious antagonisms, but in other areas disputes were common. At Thornton-le-Dale, for example, there is evidence of at least one land dispute with strong religious overtones.⁵⁸ Generally however Catholics were well integrated into their locality, and intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants was as common as marriage to another of the same faith.⁵⁹ After all, the people of these communities had not changed, only their religion had, and when contemplating marriage many people found that social and economic concerns took on a greater importance than religious ones.

LAY WOMEN IN CATHOLIC RECUSANCY

Mention of Margaret Cholmley and Lady Katherine Scrope leads to a consideration of the role of lay women in Catholic recusancy. The period of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has been called 'matriarchal' by John Bossy, on account of the importance of women in Catholic communities,⁶⁰ and this role, though less well documented than that of men, cannot be ignored. Many Catholic laymen conformed to the established church to protect their estates and business interests, but their wives invariably remained at home, maintaining a Catholic household in every way possible. Roger Radcliffe conformed sufficiently to be considered a Protestant by Gargrave, yet his household was a major centre of Catholicism in the North York Moors. The missionary priest, Thomas Clarke, admitted that when he had attended the household of George Tocketts, George himself attended the parish church but his wife had not done so before her death, nor did certain other members of their household. Furthermore, the missionary, John Mush, told colleagues in London that

⁵⁶ Full details of this incident can be found in Felicity Heal, 'Reputation and Honour in Court and Country: Lady Elizabeth Russell and Sir Thomas Hoby', *TRHS*, series 6, vol.6 (1996), pp. 161–78, and Joanna Moody, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605* (Stroud, 2001).

⁵⁷ F. Heal, 'Reputation and Honour in Court and Country', p.169.

⁵⁸ Sheils, 'Catholics and Their Neighbours', pp. 109–133, specifically p. 119; Reginald W. Jeffrey, *Thornton-Le-Dale* (Wakefield, 1931), pp. 253 and 291.

⁵⁹ Trimble, *Catholic Laity*, p. 238.

⁶⁰ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, (London, 1975), p. 153.

the gentlemen in Yorkshire had ‘fallen off from the priests, but the gentlewomen stood steadfastly to them’.⁶¹ Traditionally the household was the woman’s domain, and as Catholicism became more and more a household religion the importance of women in maintaining the old faith steadily increased.⁶² It was women who arranged for the attendance of priests, often when their husbands were away, and women who organised the education of their family and household. Thomas Clarke noted specifically that Margaret Cholmley received him at Whitby ‘during her husband’s absence’, but such practice must have been common amongst many Catholic families.⁶³

The diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, wife of Sir Thomas, provides a valuable insight into the importance of religious education in late sixteenth century gentry households. Though Hoby’s was Puritan, many Catholic women would have provided similar levels of education in their own households, for the image of the Puritan godly household was mirrored in many Catholic homes, and devotional tracts were printed for Catholics as well as for Protestants.⁶⁴ In any case, many Catholic women had little choice but to provide the religious education of their household themselves. They could not openly employ Catholic tutors and, though it became increasingly common for Catholics to send their children to Europe for their education, few could afford this, and eldest sons were almost never sent because of the risks involved.⁶⁵ Women were ideally placed to instil Catholic beliefs into their households, and it may have been the recognition of their vital role in this respect that triggered the greater severity of government attacks on recusant women from 1591. Despite this, many women, such as Lady Babthorpe of Osgodby, continued to practise Catholicism openly. She regularly sheltered priests, and succeeded in having seven of her eight children baptised in the Catholic faith. She also successfully prevented all of them from attending church, despite her husband being under a bond of £4,000 to bring his children and servants to their parish church.⁶⁶ The importance of female lay Catholics is also born out by recusancy figures, for far more women than men were presented for recusancy in the Cleveland visitation returns, and more women’s names appear on the Yorkshire recusant rolls of the 1590s and

⁶¹ Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1591–1594*: p. 305, Examination of Thomas Clarke; and pp. 261–62, Examination of Jas. Young alias Thos. Christopher alias George Dringley; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 95–96.

⁶² Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500–1720* (London, 1996) p. 60.

⁶³ Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1591–1594*, p. 305.

⁶⁴ Moody, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby*, see especially pp. 22, 31, 39–40, 51, 68, 83, 96, 107, 151–2, 161 and 166–7.

⁶⁵ Foreign education was made illegal in 1585 and those found flouting the law could be prevented from inheriting or buying property, and there was also a danger that the heir might renounce his rights and decide to join the priesthood. There is one instance in the visitation returns of the employment of a Catholic schoolmaster, and though the accused was a man, James Hebburne, it may be that his wife was responsible for the hiring of this tutor. BI, V.1595–6/CB.3, fols 148v–149r.

⁶⁶ Christine Newman, ‘The Role of Women In Early Yorkshire Recusancy: A Reappraisal’, *NCH*, 30 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 8–16, see p. 10.

the 1604 list of recusants compiled by Edward Peacock.⁶⁷ Sarah Bastow suggests women were what 'made Catholicism a living religion in an age where it was in danger of dying a quiet death',⁶⁸ and if the number of recusant women reported in the later years of Elizabeth is an accurate representation then this may be true. Certainly proof can be had that Catholic women were a key factor in the education of their children and household, for almost a quarter of those entering the English college at Rome said directly that their mothers had influenced their vocation, and perhaps more importantly that this was often against the wishes of their Protestant fathers.⁶⁹

MARRIAGE

As well as presentments for recusancy, non-communication and non-attendance at church, the visitation returns also reveal numerous instances of Catholics marrying outside of the Established church and failing to have their children baptised within it. As Hugh Aveling has pointed out, it was easy to excuse the private baptism of a child as many families carried out baptism ceremonies at home if the child were born dead or seriously ill,⁷⁰ but marriage was a more serious issue with both legal and spiritual connotations.⁷¹ Nonetheless, many Catholics did still find a way to marry in their own faith. Initially many used Henrician and Marian priests whose ordination before the Elizabethan settlement made their legal position indisputable. Robert Allanby of Skelton, for example, was married by an 'old' priest as late as 1594.⁷² Others used unbeneficed Protestant ministers to witness a ceremony of sorts before holding a Catholic ceremony in another room, and many more were prepared to travel to find a Catholic priest willing to marry them. Richard Dutton of Whitby, for example, married Katherine Cholmley in 1592 in a Catholic ceremony at a house chapel at Ripley in the West Riding, home of the Catholic Ingleby family and some distance inland. The previous year Christopher Thorpe of Ugthorpe had travelled to Billingham-on-Tees in County Durham in order to have a Catholic marriage ceremony performed.⁷³ Even Lord Sheffield, a member of the Council of the North and a notorious persecutor of Catholics who had inherited the Mulgrave estate from the Radcliffes, was married by a priest to his Catholic wife in 1581. Despite his activities against Catholics, Sheffield was still suspected of adhering to the old faith as late as 1598.⁷⁴ Most of the cases of unlawful mar-

⁶⁷ See for example recusancy presentments for the parishes of Appleton and Egton where the number of women presented for recusancy is consistently higher than that of men. BI, V.1586/CB, fols 113v, 116r; V.1590-1/CB.1, fols 194v, 199r; V.1594/CB, fols 133r, 135v; V.1595-6/CB.3, fols 148r, 155r; V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 233v. See also *Recusant Roll No.1 (1592-1593)*, ed. M. M. C. Calthrop, Catholic Record Society Publications, 18 (1916) pp. 84-102; *Recusant Roll No.2 (1593-1594)*, ed. Dom Hugh Bowler, Catholic Record Society Publications, 57 (1965) pp. 199-222; *Recusant Roll No.3 (1594-1595) and Recusant Roll No.4 (1595-1596)*, ed. Dom Hugh Bowler, Catholic Record Society Publications, 61 (1970) pp. 113-27 and 245-55; Peacock, *List of Roman Catholics*, pp. 89-117 for Cleveland and Ryedale.

⁶⁸ Bastow, *Recusant History*, 25, p. 599.

⁶⁹ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, p. 61.

⁷⁰ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 148-50.

⁷¹ For a marriage to be recognised in law after 1559 it had to be performed by an Anglican minister in front of witnesses. A Catholic marriage was seen as little better than living in concubinage, and had the potential to create serious inheritance problems, particularly if the heir were a minor.

⁷² Hugh Aveling, 'The Marriages of Catholic Recusants 1559-1642', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963), pp. 68-83, see p. 74.

⁷³ Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p. 149.

⁷⁴ Aveling, *Northern Catholics* p. 130; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 136.

riage in the visitation returns were clearly between Catholics, for the majority of those involved were also presented for recusancy.

However, there are a few instances where the reason for the secrecy behind the marriage is not so clear. In 1586, for example, the curate of Yarm married two strangers, but the visitation returns give no names or place of origin for this couple so it is not possible to trace them or to guess their faith or the reason why they were married outside their own parish.⁷⁵ Equally unclear is the case of John Wasse and Agnes Warne who were presented in 1594 for being married unlawfully outside their parish. In their case this may have owed more to the unavailability of the parish priest, for Cowesby had no visitation presentments for non-conformity, and the parishioners showed great concern over the absenteeism of their minister and the subsequent non-provision of sermons.⁷⁶

BAPTISM

Presentments for unlawful baptisms are even more common than those for illicit marriages. William Phillips of Danby was presented three times for failing to have his children baptised in the parish church, and Robert Simpson of Egton was presented twice for the same offence.⁷⁷ William Bailes of Guisborough and Christopher Stainhouse of Whitby were both accused of having a number of children not baptised, and several other Cleveland men were presented for failing to baptise a single child.⁷⁸ Religion was clearly an issue in many of these cases, as several of those presented for baptism offences were also reported for illegal marriages, or were regularly accused of recusancy. William and Jane Philips, for example, were presented for recusancy in five successive visitations, in addition to presentments for failing to have their children baptised, but this very fact suggests no direct action was ever taken against them.⁷⁹ Various members of the Simpson family of Egton were also repeatedly accused of recusancy and illicit marriage, but all seem to have escaped more severe punishments.⁸⁰ There are numerous other cases, such as that of Christopher Granger and Janeta Uckerbie of Osmotherley, who were presented for having a child and 'living suspiciously together',⁸¹ which may also be an indication of an avoidance of the lawful channels of marriage and baptism on religious grounds. However, such couples could equally fall amongst the many accused of living in fornication or adultery and bearing illegitimate children. As the church courts dealt with a preponderance of moral issues, this a distinct possibility, and is supported by the rarity of the names of those accused of fornication and related moral issues reappearing in recusant lists. Incidences of Catholic marriages and baptisms continued to increase as recusant communities grew, and Peacock's list of Roman Catholics in Yorkshire in 1604 contains many more cases than ever appeared in any single Elizabethan visitation return.⁸²

BURIALS

In contrast to this, presentments for Catholic burials were rare. Most Catholics continued to be buried in their parish church, partly because that was where their ancestors had been buried, but perhaps more importantly because the

⁷⁵ BI, V.1586/CB, fol. 115v.

⁸¹ BI, V.1600/CB.1B, fol. 253v.

⁸² Peacock, *List of Roman Catholics* pp. 88–117; the visitation returns of 1604 are no longer extant for Cleveland.

ground in the churchyards had been consecrated under the old faith. Others conducted private burials, some of which occurred at night; torchlight burials are said to have been common amongst the Cholmley family.⁸³ The death of Katherine Hodgeson in Egton in 1595 was followed by a private burial when 'all or the most of the recusants of the said chapelry did come with the corpse of the said Katherine in the dawning of the day having gotten the church key into the church and buried the said Katherine without any minister'.⁸⁴ Interestingly, this case was not presented by the churchwardens in the 1595–96 visitation returns, perhaps indicating the service was carried out either without the knowledge, or with the compliance, of Egton's incumbent, though equally any prosecutions may have been carried out through other channels.

THE EVIDENCE OF WILLS

Though visitation returns are the most revealing source of lay religion in the North York Moors, further valuable insights into the progress of religious change and the religious attitudes of lay men and women can also be provided by wills, though these do have limitations. By the reign of Elizabeth, wills had become largely secular documents, giving little if any indication of religious beliefs. Compared with many areas there is also an overall dearth of wills for Cleveland. Yorkshire testators had to have their wills proved by the Archbishop's Exchequer Court at York, and those in Allertonshire by the courts at Durham, but many Clevelanders may have neglected to obtain probate, given their geographic distances from York and Durham and the likely expense involved in getting there. Such failure to obtain probate is suggested by a number of visitation presentments for the occupation of goods without a grant of probate.⁸⁵ All the Cleveland cases involve parishes in the west of the deanery, some of the closest of all those in Cleveland to York. The very fact that these nearer parishes neglected to have all their wills proved in York can only imply that this may also have been the case for those further afield. Despite this, some Cleveland wills do exist. Most of these are neutral, though some are more revealing. As late as 1584 the will of yeoman Leonard Atkine of Ugglebarnby in Lythe parish has a very detailed and ambiguous religious preamble. Atkine bequeaths his 'soul to the merciful hand of almighty God my maker and to Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer and to the holy ghost my sanctifier ... and to the blessed fellowship of the blessed Virgin Mary and to all the holy fellowship of the holy company of heaven'.⁸⁶ This confused combination of both Protestantism and Catholicism could be interpreted according to the faith of the reader, but the very presence of Mary and the saints implies Catholicism, for no Protestant would have mentioned saints in his will. Atkine, in common with the majority of Elizabethan testators, unfortunately made no bequests that in any way confirm his faith. Generally, whilst wills from other parts of Yorkshire became ambiguous at a

⁸³ Jeffrey, *Whitby Lore*, p. 60.

⁸⁴ Talbot, *Return of Recusants*, p. 32.

⁸⁵ BI, V.1586/CB, fols 122r, 123r; V.1600/CB.1B, fols 237v, 240r.

⁸⁶ BI, Prob. Reg. 22 fol. 692v. Spelling in the quotation has been modernised.

relatively early date,⁸⁷ those from Cleveland remained largely traditional, and bequests of the soul which include ‘all the celestial company in heaven,’ if not the Virgin Mary, are relatively common well into the 1580s and occasionally beyond.⁸⁸ Equally, during the reign of Edward, when most wills became neutral to avoid antagonising the authorities, some of those from the North York Moors remained strongly Catholic. In 1548 William, Lord Eure bequeathed his soul to Mary and all the Saints as well as to God and Christ, and Cecily Boynton, a widow of Roxby, bequeathed her soul to God, Mary and all the Saints in 1550, but unlike their predecessors neither made any elaborate provision in their wills for the afterlife, and the ritual of late medieval Catholicism is very much muted.⁸⁹

Furthermore, it is easy to see patterns in the use of preamble formulae in many of the surviving Cleveland wills, which reminds us that the wording of religious preambles cannot be taken as firm evidence of testators’ personal faith. However, the use of traditional preamble formulae occurs almost without exception in those parishes which the archbishops’ visitation returns have shown to have had a high concentration of recusants in their populations. The coastal parish of Fylingdales, for example, adjacent to Whitby parish and entirely under the tenorial jurisdiction of the Cholmleys, is known to have been visited by seminary priests and was still producing Catholic wills in 1602.⁹⁰ Whitby itself, and also the parish of Lythe, again known centres of recusancy, were also continuing to use traditional preambles at the turn of the century, and almost all the non-traditional preambles in the extant wills of these parishes take a neutral rather than Protestant form.⁹¹ In contrast, the majority of the few explicitly Protestant will preambles from Elizabethan Cleveland come from testators in parishes which returned few if any recusants during the visitations. The wills of Margaret Bawdwayne of Marton parish and John Holland of Roxby both suggest a true Protestant belief, but each of these parishes returned only one recusant throughout the reign of Elizabeth.⁹² The neutral form of the majority of extant wills from Elizabethan Cleveland gives little or no indication of personal faith, and confirms that will preambles alone are insufficient guides to the reli-

⁸⁷ See, for example, in the wills of Richard Thweng of Rotsea in the East Riding who in 1540 bequeathed his soul to God alone (BI, Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 463r–v), and of Walter Paslewe of Riddlesden in the West Riding whose will of 1543 is entirely secular (Prob. Reg. 13, fol. 20v–21r). Also Sir Richard Tempest of Bolling near Bradford in 1537–38 bequeathed his soul to God alone (Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 296r–v), as does Seth Snawsell of Bilton, York in 1538 (Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 236v). Five years later, in 1543, Richard Palmes of Naburne, York, left a wholly secular will (Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 678r), and in the same year John Wakefield, mayor of Pontefract, commenced his will with a clearly Protestant preamble, trusting in God and the saving grace of Christ’s passion (Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 737v).

⁸⁸ There are others, but a few examples are BI, Prob. Reg. 22, fols 217r (Booth, 1582), 582v (Ager, 1584), 632r–v (Hodgshone, 1584), Prob. Reg. 23, fols 110v–111r (Chapman, 1585), 308v (Wilson, 1586), 659r–v (Richardson, 1587), 885v (Carlell, 1588); PR 25, fol. 1203r–v (Thompson, 1592).

⁸⁹ BI, Prob. Reg. 12a, fol. 2v–3r (Eure); Prob. Reg. 13, fol. 706v (Boynton). For examples of typically medieval style Catholic wills see those of Roger Tocketts of Guisborough (1536), Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 358r; and Margerie Lutton of Easington (1538), Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 367v.

⁹⁰ BI, Prob. Reg. 28, fol. 590v–591r (Robson).

⁹¹ For Catholic preambles in Lythe see, for example, BI, Prob. Reg. 26, fols 321r–v (Marwood) 321v (Whitby); For Whitby see Prob. Reg. 26, fol. 488r (Atkin), Prob. Reg. 27, fols 95v (Lambe), 449r–v (Jackson), Prob. Reg. 28, fol. 352r (Chapman).

⁹² BI, Prob. Reg. 27, fols 460v–461r (Bawdwayne) and fol. 709r (Holland).

gious beliefs of the laity, but the considerable number of testators who continue to use Catholic formulae, particularly in parishes with high numbers of known recusants, can only serve to emphasise the traditional nature of religious beliefs in the North York Moors.

CATHOLIC RESISTANCE TO PROTESTANTISM

It is evident that the laity of the North York Moors were not only strongly conservative, but also active in the preservation of their faith. The moorland parishes together formed one of the strongest centres of Catholic resistance in Elizabethan Yorkshire, so it is perhaps surprising to discover that their resistance to the Establishment was largely passive. Active opposition to the Elizabethan settlement, such as had occurred in the 1536 reaction against Henrician policies, was not forthcoming in 1559, perhaps partly because the government had yet to begin a serious programme of persecution of Catholics, instead simply hoping the old faith would die out if left alone. Ten years later when the revolt of the Northern Earls broke out it scarcely affected the North York Moors, the majority of rebels coming from Durham, Richmondshire and Allertonshire. The influence of tenurial lords seems to have been paramount in this, for the loyalty of the Cholmleys ensured the loyalty of their tenants throughout Whitby Strand, and it is likely that the heavy involvement of Allertonshire came only as a result of the tenurial rights of the Bishop of Durham over much of the Peculiar. Nonetheless, the rebellion ultimately proved to be a turning point in the fortunes of northern Catholicism, prompting Yorkshiremen to plump for one side or the other of the religious divide and encouraging some secretly to revive the old faith when it became clear that a legal restoration was not imminent. However, even when the 1569 rebellion opened the way for the persecution of northern Catholics, open defiance of religious laws was initially rare. Most parish clergy submitted to the establishment and most of their parishioners did likewise, though as has been seen above many maintained Catholic customs at home and attended Mass whenever possible. Elizabeth's appointment of two committed Protestants in Edmund Grindal as archbishop of York and Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon as President of the Council of the North in the 1570s appears to mark the initial implementation of the Reformation in many areas of Yorkshire,⁹³ but even then some areas remained isolated from the Protestant evangelists. Amongst these the North York Moors has been seen as an area which escaped the reforming zeal of Protestant evangelists, and it has even been claimed that the Catholic mission of the 1590s was the first post-Reformation evangelism experienced by the parish of Egton.⁹⁴ In 1593 an attempt was made to evangelise Whitby by leasing the rectory to the Earl of Huntingdon, who would take all profits from the rectory on the condition that he provided and supported at all times an incumbent who was able to preach and evangelise the parish at all times, and abolish all remnants of popery.⁹⁵ The death of the Earl in 1595 cut this experiment short abruptly and, though the clause remained in subsequent leases of the rectory, the recusant community continued to resist attempts to enforce

⁹³ Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal 1519–1583* (London, 1979) p. 199.

⁹⁴ Sheils, 'Catholics and Their Neighbours', p. 119. Spelling in the quotation has been modernised.

⁹⁵ W. J. Sheils, 'Profit, Patronage or Pastoral Care: The Rectory Estates of the Archbishopric of York 1540–1640' in *Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500–1800*, ed. Rosemary O'Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester, 1981), pp. 100–101.

conformity.

The appointments of Grindal and Huntingdon sparked the most intense period of persecution Elizabethan Yorkshire Catholics ever experienced, but this impetus was never consistent and persecution remained haphazard. Many escaped prosecution because of the inefficiency, or indeed conservatism, of their local government, or because a degree of conformity hid their true religious affiliations. Even when the authorities concentrated their persecution on the gentry and missionary priests in an attempt to attack Catholicism at its roots and thus destroy the spirit of non-gentry Catholics and crush them into conformity,⁹⁶ it is evident that in the North York Moors at least, Catholicism grew stronger not weaker. The establishment of the Church of England depended heavily upon the gentry, and despite their political loyalty to Elizabeth the gentry of the North York Moors did nothing to enforce the new religion. The dominance of the Catholic Cholmleys, and the employment from 1569 of a Cholmley and a Radcliffe as JPs in the area, allowed recusancy to flourish in the parishes of Whitby Strand, aided by the absence of any comparable Protestant power in the area before the arrival of Thomas Hoby in 1597. Hoby's home at Hackness was uncomfortably close to Grosmont, which had hitherto been isolated from any Protestant influences and completely unnoticed by the authorities. Significantly it was only from 1597 that a watch began to be kept on the priory. This watch culminated in the raid of 1599, but the Hodgesons had been warned and the authorities found the priory empty. Even when Lord Sheffield arrived at his Mulgrave estates after his appointment to the Council and joined Hoby's campaign against Catholicism in the area, recusancy in the North York Moors continued to increase. This may be an indication of a more concerted campaign against recusancy, resulting in higher rates of detection, rather than an actual increase in the number of Catholics, but probably the truth lies somewhere between the two.⁹⁷ Persecution of recusants in the North York Moors undoubtedly increased after the arrival of Hoby and Sheffield, but the thriving nature of the recusant communities before this suggests that a continued growth is not out of the question.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the efforts of the Established Church came too late in the North York Moors. It has already been noted that the Catholic mission was probably the first experienced by Egton parish and, undoubtedly, by 1595 Catholic seminary priests had already made a considerable impact across the region. Protestant ministers were competing with an established mission in an area which was in any case ill-disposed towards their message, and even the most zealous ministers seem to have had little effect in some parishes. In Whitby, for example, the long unbroken Protestant ministry of Robert Toes and his son Daniel from 1570 failed to impact upon the town's large recusant community. This community continued to thrive even after the conformity of the Cholmleys, thus further confirming the importance not only of the Catholic gentry, but also of the non-

⁹⁶ Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I* (London, 1967), pp. 186–87.

⁹⁷ Lord Sheffield was later made president of the Council by James I, though it has been suggested his presidency was not a success, and it is known Elizabeth had earlier refused it on account of his marriage to a Catholic. Boddy, 'Catholic Missioners, Part II', p. 3; Green, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1598–1601*, p. 233, no.72; F. W. Brooks, *The Council of the North* (Historical Association, 1953) p. 18.

gentry Catholic laity in the preservation of Catholicism. Likewise in Egton, although the returns of the 1575 examination of the clergy report the curate Robert Wilmot, as young, zealous and of good character,⁹⁸ Egton had the largest recusant population in Cleveland. Establishment efforts to evangelise did not destroy Catholicism in the North York Moors, but nor did persecution have much effect. A background of conservatism and a regular supply of priests, coupled with their geographic isolation from centres of Protestantism provided strong incentives for Catholic laymen to maintain their faith, and continual presentments before the courts appear to have had little impact on the steadily growing numbers of recusants. Catholicism in Cleveland remained a statistical minority, amounting to around two per cent of the population of the North Riding, but it was nonetheless a significant minority, and it remained a force to be reckoned with despite the efforts of the Elizabethan government.⁹⁹ Despite growing religious indifference and increasing levels of conformity as the sixteenth-century progressed, the Catholic faith remained strong and, by 1603, it could be suggested that there were scarcely more convinced Protestants than Catholics. The laity of the North York Moors were well positioned to gain maximum benefit from the English Catholic mission, and made the most of the resources available to them. Recusant communities were thriving and people were making a conscious decision to reject the Established Church and to practise Catholicism. They were not granted toleration, yet they persisted in their beliefs and built up religious communities that still remain today. Undoubtedly the arrival of the missionary priests from the 1580s onwards was critical to the survival of Catholicism, but without the determination of the Catholic laity to preserve their faith, the efforts of the priests would have been in vain and the Established order would have succeeded in its efforts to crush the spirit of Catholicism in the North York Moors. Christopher Haigh has claimed that 'there were too few priests tramping the Yorkshire moors: ... too many relaxing in plush Oxfordshire manor houses', and, although it is clear from Anstruther and Bellenger's work that well over one hundred Catholic priests were active in late sixteenth-century Yorkshire, and that around a quarter of these were in fact 'tramping the Yorkshire moors,' it is also probable that numerically there were more missionaries in the south.¹⁰⁰ However, the comparative lack of success of the missionary priests in the heavily Protestant southern counties merely emphasises the crucial importance of lay support for Catholicism in its overall endurance. Without a core of laymen and women willing to embrace the old faith in the parishes of the North York Moors, no amount of priests could have ensured its survival.

⁹⁸ Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents*, p. 124.

⁹⁹ Dickens, *YAJ*, 37, p. 33; Aveling, *Northern Catholics* p. 8. Even the Egton-Ugthorpe mission, perhaps the most successful in the area, had only 430 Catholics to 2,100 Protestants.

¹⁰⁰ Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority', p. 145; Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*; Bellenger, *English and Welsh Priests*.

APPENDIX 2: THE SIZES OF RECUSANT COMMUNITIES IN
CLEVELAND AND RYEDALE

The figures in the following tables are the numbers of presentments for recusancy, and for recusancy and non-communication, taken from the Archbishop’s visitation returns for the relevant years to demonstrate the spread and growth of Catholic communities in Cleveland and Ryedale. These figures also demonstrate how much more significant were the Catholic communities of Cleveland than those of Ryedale, both in size and number. Figures in **bold** denote recusancy presentments, figures in *italics* are those for non-communication.

Cleveland

Parish	1575		1578-79		1582	1586	1590-91		1594	1595-96		1600	Total	
Acklam							1	3		1		1	3	3
Aisaby							1		1	1			3	
Appleton						24	18		15	11		7	75	4
Ayton							1						1	
Birkby		3	1						2	1		1	2	6
Brotton					2	19	8	1	5	7	1	8	47	4
Crathorne									3		2			8
Danby						5		3	3	10		3	21	7
Deighton			1						1				1	1
Easington										2				2
East Harlsey							3			1		1	11	6
Egton					1	13	30		20	38		56	158	
Eskdale							11			8		18	37	
Eston									1					1
Faceby														1
Fylingdales							3			21	1	33	57	1
Guisborough		2				4	15		3	5		4	31	4
Hawnby												1	1	
Hinderwell							12		6	5		1	24	11

Parish	1575	1578-79	1582	1586	1590-91	1594	1595-96	1600	Total
Whorlton			1		2	7	8	6	23 1
Wilton	1				1		2		4
Yarm	1		1	3		3	4	6	13 10
T total	8	2	1 22	74 46	184 29	105 38	225 19	259 27	848 191

Ryedale

Parish	1567-8	1575	1582	1586	1590-1	1594	1595-6	1600	Total
Amotherby						4	1 2	1	1 7
Ampleforth						3			3
Barton-Le-Street					1	1	2	1	2 4
Cropton						2			2
Gilling	1			1	1			1	1 3
Goathland					2		4 1	4 5	10 6
Harome							1	1	1 1
Hawnby				8		3			11
Helmsley			2		2	6	9	3 1	5 21
Hovingham				1	9	8	2	19 6	36 20
Hutton Buscø				1	3	1			1 4
Kirby Misperton					3				3
Kirkby Moorside					4	1	1	4	2 10
Kirkdale				1			4	1	1 5
Lastingham					4				4
Malton			3						3
Middleton						2		3	5
New Malton			1						1
New Malton - St Michael's					3			1	4
New Malton - St Leonard's		2			2				4
Old Byland					2				2

Pickering																		3	2	1	2	10
Slingsby									1													1
Snainton											4										4	
Stonegrave								1						2						4		7
Thornton-Le-Dale									1				5	1		2			1	7	5	12
Wykeham								2			1			1		2					4	2
T otal			1		2		9	1	13	10	45	12	27	19	24	33	34	75				155

A SWISS MILADY IN YORKSHIRE: SABINE WINN OF NOSTELL PRIORY

By Christopher Todd

By marrying a foreigner, the fifth Baronet of Nostell, Rowland Winn, broke with traditional aristocratic networking arrangements. His wife, Sabine, was never entirely accepted, even though she came from a prominent Huguenot banking family and her money helped transform Nostell. Though Rowland's political career failed, he was often away on business, leaving Sabine at Nostell to deal with domestic matters, including ever-troublesome servants. She was emotionally dependent on her husband and after his death, became a recluse, even refusing to see her daughter following the latter's elopement with the local baker. Sabine appears from her letters as a somewhat passive, self-centred figure who does not fit the model of the strong female chatelaine favoured in recent historiography.

Nostell Priory is situated about six miles south-east of Wakefield.¹ It is a typical eighteenth-century great house renowned for its fine rococo decoration by James Paine and later neo-classic interiors by the Adam Brothers, as well as furnishings by Chippendale, including some remarkably fine Chinese hand-painted wallpaper. It became the property of the Winn family under the Commonwealth in 1650, the previous owner having supported the wrong side in the Civil War. Previously known as Nostell Park, the name 'priory' – made fashionable by the 19th century Gothic revival – is a reference to the Priory of St Oswald which once stood there and which was confiscated and sold off at the time of the Reformation. The Winns were of Welsh origin, and, as linen drapers to Queen Elizabeth, had prospered in the city of London, buying land extensively. Having benefited from the fall of Charles I, they were prudent enough to help in the restoration of Charles II and were rewarded with a baronetcy in 1660.²

On 2 August 1756, seventeen-year old Rowland Winn, son of the fourth Baronet, arrived in Vevey with his Swiss companion-cum-tutor,³ bearing a letter of introduction to Jacques-Philippe d'Herwart, Baron de Saint-Légier who, like the writer of the letter, had links with Britain.⁴ The letter described the young man as being entirely

¹ Nostell Priory was given to the National Trust by the fourth Baron St Oswald in 1953.

² The title of 'baronet' was to lapse in the early 19th century, having passed to a cousin who died without issue, but Sabine Winn's great-grandson, who was a prominent Tory MP, was made 1st Baron St Oswald in 1885 – see G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Baronetage* (Exeter, 1903), III, pp. 132–33; H. A. Doubleday, *et al.*, *The Complete Peerage* (London, 1926), VI, pp. 429–30, XI, p. 363. The sixth Lord St Oswald and his wife still occupy part of Nostell today. For fuller details of both the house and the family, see the guide by Sophie Raikes and Tim Knox (The National Trust, 2001).

³ Isaac Dulon, a minister of religion, from Vevey. They set out from London for Harwich on 8 July 1756 whence they sailed for Holland on the 11th. They then travelled up alongside the Rhine from Rotterdam to Basel, and thence to Vevey via Bern and Lausanne: West Yorkshire Archives (Leeds) [henceforth WYAS], Nostell Priory Papers [henceforth NP], A1/4/30, Fourth Baronet, 1756–1765: Account Book, with an account of the monies paid to his sons Rowland and Edward, and to Isaac Dulon, the former's tutor abroad.

⁴ WYAS, NPA1/B5/1, De Villette to J. P. d'Herwart, Gusuligue, 30 July 1756.

inexperienced and just out of school. To avoid his meeting too many other Englishmen, the father had placed his son in what was a relatively small town, rather than Geneva where he had spent part of his own youth,⁵ but on 4 November young Winn moved to Lausanne.⁶ Linguistically, the stay in Vevey was ostensibly a failure, despite the attentions of the young ladies there who had vied with each other in wanting to teach him. However, although there were other Englishmen in his house in Lausanne, Rowland henceforth made exceptional progress in French.⁷ He was also a talented musician who, through arranging the background music, gained free entrance to plays by Voltaire in which the playwright himself acted; and he was a good draftsman, drawing portraits of his friends. Indeed, he showed a dangerous facility which hindered arduous study.⁸ He was not a natural scholar, always promising to do better but really more interested in the lively physical pursuits of youth. At least, he proved to be an agreeable student, one of his teachers saying ‘qu’il n’avait jamais eu de disciple qui parût l’écouter avec plus d’attention’ [that he had never had a student who seemed to listen to him with greater attention].⁹

Overcoming initial timidity, he quickly learned to appear in polite society ‘noblement et avec grâce’ [nobly and with good grace], while ‘la plus heureuse physionomie du monde prév[enait] en sa faveur’ [the most pleasing countenance in the world plead[ed] in his favour]. If occasionally short-tempered and impatient of others, his besetting sin at this time – and one that was to remain with him – was extravagance. While in Lausanne, he spent a great deal of money

⁵ Widely respected in Yorkshire, in 1757 he was still remembered in Switzerland as ‘le plus aimable et le plus sage de tous les Anglais’ [the most pleasant and sensible of all the English] who had been there in his time: WYAS, NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, 30 July 1757.

⁶ WYAS, NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to fourth Baronet, 16 November 1756.

⁷ By 9 September 1758, Dulon was pleased to say that Rowland spoke considerably better French than most of the English in Lausanne, with good pronunciation, but that he could be grammatically more correct: WYAS, NP/A4/1530/15, Isaac Dulon to the fourth Baronet, 9 September 1758. Indeed when one reads the many letters he wrote in French throughout the rest of his life, one cannot help but be struck by his fluency and the ease with which he writes in the language, even if he shows scant regard for verb endings and especially the subjunctive.

⁸ As Dulon commented in a letter to the fourth Baronet of 21 December 1757: ‘Il a les dispositions les plus heureuses que l’on puisse avoir. En un mot il a des talents pour tout, et j’oserais même dire qu’il en a trop, parce qu’il veut trop entreprendre à la fois et que souvent il compte trop sur ses propres forces, ce qui fait qu’il passe rapidement d’un objet à un autre, ou que quelquefois il interrompt son application, s’imaginant qu’il pourra toujours réparer le temps perdu, ou quelquefois aussi il ne s’arrête pas assez aux premiers principes qui lui paraissent trop secs et trop ennuyeux. Il voudrait d’abord être maître avant que d’avoir été disciple’ [He shows the luckiest aptitudes possible. In a word, he has a talent for everything, and I would even dare say that he has too many talents, because he wants to undertake too much at the same time and that he often counts too much on his own strength, which makes him jump quickly from one subject to another, or sometimes abandon taking care over what he is doing, believing that he will always be able to make up for lost time, or sometimes also not linger long enough over basic principles that appear to him too dry and boring. He would like to be a teacher before being a pupil first]: WYAS, NP/A1/4/15.

⁹ *Idem*.

on clothes, jewellery, furniture and paintings.¹⁰ He always liked to have fresh flowers in his rooms, and paid for musicians to come and play for him. Apparently dressing like a jockey while in Lausanne, through his landlord he also developed his life-long passion for trading in horses.¹¹

Various plans to move on from Lausanne came to nothing, largely because of the Seven Years' War. Yet escape from Switzerland might have obviated another matter which was to cause much greater concern to Rowland's father than money. The departure from Vevey in the autumn of 1756 had not been entirely for linguistic reasons. On 19 October 1756, the tutor wrote to Rowland's father that 'cette petite affaire' [that little affair] with a certain lady was now over, and that Rowland had assured him that 'ce n'était qu'un amusement' [it was only a pastime].¹² Now, the lady in question was none other than Sabine d'Herwart, daughter of Jacques-Philippe d'Herwart, the man to whom Rowland Winn had been recommended in Vevey, and she was not only five years older than Rowland but also already married.¹³ In fact, that little affair was far from over, and whilst it was common knowledge that she had hardly ever lived with her husband, it was soon said that 'Monsieur Winn a un peu trop fait éclater son goût pour elle' [Mr Winn is a little too flagrant in his liking for her].

Sabine-Louise d'Herwart had married Major Gabriel May, a citizen of Bern, and Lord of Hünigen (in the Bernese Oberland), on 11 October 1754, when she was twenty.¹⁵ It was hardly a love match, and he possibly became her husband through business links with her father. He was a serious, God-fearing man, with a

¹⁰ While at least Rowland did not go in for gambling in a serious way, as some of his compatriots did, his spending began at the beginning of their stay when he felt – according to Dulon (WYAS, NP/A4/1530/19, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, May 1758) – 'qu'il n'était pas assez magnifique pour aller dans les compagnies & qu'il lui semblait n'être pas sur un pied assez distingué' [he was not splendid enough to go in fine company, and that it seemed to him that he was not on a refined enough footing], and this among the English milords who already had the reputation for being big spenders. One expensive purchase was an embroidered coat that he bought while on a trip to Geneva. It was also the habit in Lausanne to have one's hair dressed by a wig-maker and not one's servant, a habit which Rowland Winn would retain when in London. He also had to pay for trips to the country and to other Swiss towns, for frequent evenings spent at a local inn with a circle of English friends and for dinner parties in his lodgings to repay hospitality.

¹¹ See WYAS, NP/A4/1509/39, Mary Winn to the fourth Baronet, 7 June 1760. The landlord, De Mesery, also ran a riding school. He became a lifelong friend of the young Winn, and both were to belong to a masonic lodge in Geneva (see NP/A4/1558/77, letter from La Corbière, 'Maître de la Loge des 3 mortiers' to Sigismond D'Harnay, 27 December 1758).

¹² WYAS, NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, 19 October 1756.

¹³ While Rowland Winn was born and baptised on 7 March 1739 (24 February old style) (WYAS, NP/C6/12/1, Pedigree of the Winn family of Nostell, 1844), his future wife was born on 25 March 1734. The baptism record for the Reformed Church in Vevey for 12 April 1734 reads thus: 'Le 12e. Sabine Louise, fille de Noble Philippe Jacques d'Herwart Baron de Saint Léger et de Madame Jeanne Ester Düntz de Berne, son épouse a été présentée au Saint Baptême par Monsieur le Père. Née le dernier mars' [The 12th. Sabine Louise, daughter of Noble Philippe Jacques d'Herwart Baron de Saint Léger and of Madame Jeanne Ester Düntz from Berne, his wife, was presented for Holy Baptism by her father. Born at the end of March] (Archives cantonales de Lausanne: Répertoire d'Etat civil, Registre Baptistaire 1722–1766, p. 222 (Eb 132/5). The exact date of her birth can be ascertained from a letter from the younger Mary Winn to her brother on 31 March 1768, in which she refers to her sister-in-law's birthday thus: 'Pray give my love to my sister & let her know I did not forget the 25th of this month, & sincerely wish her many happy years' (NP/A4/1508/45).

¹⁴ WYAS, NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, August 1757.

¹⁵ Archives cantonales de Lausanne, Répertoire d'Etat civil, Registre de mariages de l'Eglise réformée de Vevey, 1722–1766, p. 90 (Eb 132/5).

reputation for being gentle and sensitive, but he was also a workaholic.¹⁶ Apart from a visit to Bern in April 1756, she repeatedly refused to go and live with him.¹⁷ By the beginning of 1758, he was seriously ill, seemingly with cancer, and by the end of March 1759 he was dead.¹⁸

Within weeks Gabriel May's father was saying that he would not have argued over the dowry and the marriage contract if Sabine

... n'avait pas négligé ses engagements dans le même contrat stipulé et aurait abandonné son mari à ce triste sort de languir de sorte que probablement, et suivant le résultat de ses amis et connaissances ces chagrins lui ont à la fin coûté la vie.¹⁹

and that further discussion on the matter would hardly help to silence the public gossip that her behaviour had given rise to.²⁰ To put an end to controversy, she was forced to accept only a small share of her husband's estate.

In the meantime, the news of Gabriel May's death brought fresh ardour to young Rowland's breast, and on 26 April – not daring to broach the subject of marriage himself – he got his tutor to write to the fourth Baronet. Understandably, the father was horrified. With the rise of new domestic values, romantic rather than arranged marriages had by this time become much more common among the English nobility and gentry, but old patriarchal practices took time to die out and there were still widely recognised rules to be observed when choosing one's partner.²¹ Asking Rowland to think again, his father dismissed 'this pretended attachment' as 'a passion without thought or reflection', which had arisen only with the death of Gabriel May, and even if by his account 'she but little cohabitated, there must have been touch on both

¹⁶ See WYAS, NP/A1/B5/1, ten letters from G. May to J. P. d'Herwart, 1755–1759). The title 'major' in this context is roughly equivalent to the British rank of captain, implying that he was a form of regimental adjutant, with a position in military administration. He even devoted much space in his letters to his wife to discussion of the problems of his job, which involved a fair amount of travelling in difficult conditions, with little space for more than summary, sober and rather formal expressions of affection, although he was certainly pleased to get letters from her which showed that she was thinking of him (see his letters to her kept in NP/A1/5A/2).

¹⁷ He expressed a certain amount of impatience when she preferred to stay in Vevey for the marriage of a friend in January 1756 rather than finally coming and joining him in Bern (WYAS, NP/A1/B5/7, G. May to J. P. d'Herwart, 26 December 1755). In the autumn of 1755, he had visited Vevey to remonstrate with his wife over her repeated refusal to come and live with him, hoping she would see reason and that he would not be obliged to force her to come, seeing himself as the enemy of all constraint and believing that he would be most unhappy if he were reduced to acting in this way towards a wife to whom he had sworn 'les sentiments de la plus sincère tendresse' [feelings of the most sincere tenderness] (NP/A1/B5/1, G. May to J. P. d'Herwart, 30 December 1755).

¹⁸ He recovered a little during the summer of 1758, but by November he was ill again. By January 1759, he was largely confined to his bed, while still trying to work, suffering from piles and splitting headaches, and soon even unable to hold a pen: WYAS, NP/A4/1581/1, L. Grüner to J. P. d'Herwart, 29 March 1759.

¹⁹ 'had not disregarded what she had promised under that same specified contract and had not abandoned her husband to languish in this sad fate so that probably, and according to the findings of his friends and acquaintances, these sorrows finally cost him his life': WYAS, NP/A1/5B/10, Bernhard May, bailiff of Trachselwald to J. P. d'Herwart, 19 April 1759.

²⁰ *Idem*.

²¹ See Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family. Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1978), pp. 3, 97–113; Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's lives in Georgian England* (New Haven & London, 1998), pp. 41–45, 285–86; Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House* (London, 2003), pp. 6–13, etc.

sides'. He wanted his son to picture a foreign wife at the head of the dinner table and unable to converse; and reminding him how often he had made fun of French accents, what it would be like for him even to suspect that anybody was mimicking his wife. He listed the main reasons why he thought Sabine would make an unsuitable bride; above all that love was not enough to ensure a happy marriage, 'for without connections and means a man will make but a mean figure in this country'.²²

Asked to reflect, Rowland dithered. He stopped seeing Sabine for a time, but could not get what his brother was to call 'that disagreeable affair' out of his mind.²³ The tutor said he could understand Rowland all too easily as Sabine was 'belle et aimable' [beautiful and pleasing], adding rather less charitably that he believed 'que la fortune le tente un peu' [that her money tempts him a little].²⁴ Opposition to the marriage continued among the Winns. In such marriages, according to Rowland's aunt Mary, people 'are lost to the world & never make any figure in life.'²⁵ Others were more sanguine. Rowland's brother-in-law, Nathaniel Cholmley, wrote to the fourth Baronet that 'as the young woman [had] so good a character and [was] likely to be a good fortune and a protestant', he thought those 'very fortunate circumstances.'²⁶ Rowland's brother was convinced that he might have found richer pickings elsewhere, but even his aunt believed that £70,000 was not to be sniffed at.²⁷

Although there were to be complications over the dowry because of opposition from those in Bern who also disapproved and wanted to impose the *traite foraine* or ten per cent tax on all property leaving the country, Rowland and Sabine were finally married in Vevey on 4 December 1761.²⁸ In any case, as Nathaniel Cholmley had recognised, Rowland was hardly marrying beneath his station. While Sabine's mother, Esther Dünz, was the last surviving member of the family of the city architects of Bern, her father belonged to one of the most notable families of the Huguenot diaspora. It originally came from Augsburg, where it was prominent from the thirteenth century onwards.²⁹

The most famous member of the family was Sabine Winn's great grandfather, Barthélemy Herwart, a banker whose financial wizardry saved Alsace for the French, and who was also to play a major role under Mazarin

²⁶ WYAS, NP/A4/1509/8, letter of 24 April 1760. Nathaniel Cholmley of Howsham, Justice of the Peace and MP for Aldborough and then Boroughbridge, married Catherine Winn on 13 June 1750: *Newcastle Courant*, [henceforth *NC*], 23 June 1750. She died in childbed in November 1769: *NC*, 2 December 1769.

²⁷ WYAS, NP/A4/1541/14, Edward Winn to fourth Baronet, 30 November 1760, and NP/A4/1541/22, Mary Winn to the fourth Baronet, 5 April 1760.

²⁸ WYAS, NP/A4/1554, letters respecting the marriage of Sir Rowland Winn with the daughter of M. d'Herwart. The official entry for their marriage reads thus: 'Rowland Winn, fils de Rowland Winn, Chevalier, Baronet Anglais et Sabine Louise May, née d'Herwart de Vevey, ont été épousés dans le Temple de Saint Claire paroisse de Vevey le vendredi 4 Xbre 1761 à huit heures du matin par Isaac Dulon, Ministre du St Evangile ensuite d'un brevet des illustres seigneurs du consistoire de Berne, en date du 25 9bre 1761' [Rowland Winn, son of an English Baronet, Sir Rowland Winn, and Sabine Louise May, born d'Herwart from Vevey, were married in the Protestant Church of Sainte-Claire, parish of Vevey on Friday 4 December 1761 at eight o'clock in the morning by Isaac Dulon, Minister of the Holy Gospel, under a licence from the Illustrious Lords of the Bern Consistory, dated 25 November 1761] (Archives cantonales de Lausanne, Registre de Mariages no 5, p. 111 (Eb 132/5).

²⁹ See *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1928), II, p. 723 and Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1866–1890), IX, p. 250.

during the minority of Louis XIV.³⁰ Barthélemy Herwart did not live to see the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, but it was to scatter his children. His wife, a daughter and her daughter all lie buried in Westminster abbey.³¹ The eldest of Barthélemy's sons, Philibert (Sabine's grandfather), also came to England, where he rallied to the cause of William of Orange.³²

The Herwarts were among the minority of Huguenot refugees who remained rich, which meant that at least initially they played a prominent role in the life of the Huguenot Diaspora or 'Refuge'. Philibert d'Herwart was, for instance, one of the main benefactors of the French Protestant hospital in Finsbury.³³ When he died in 1721 in Southampton, he was buried amidst much pomp.³⁴ His greatest claim to fame was as King William's special envoy to Switzerland, though his appointment caused the Swiss considerable embarrassment, because of their fear of Louis XIV. Finally, he had to withdraw from Geneva to Bern, and then to Moudon and Vevey where he was given citizen's rights.³⁵ While in Switzerland he married a daughter of one of the leading families in Bern, Jédide Auzube de Graffenreid.³⁶ Some of their children remained in Switzerland, while others followed them to England. Sabine had

³⁰ See Guillaume Depping, 'Un banquier protestant en France au XVIIe Siècle', *Revue historique*, x (1879), 285–338, and xi (1879), 63–80; Menna Prestwich, 'The Huguenots under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1629–61: A Golden Age?', *Huguenots in Britain and their French background, 1550–1800*: contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24–25 September 1985, ed. Irene Scouloudi. (Basingstoke, 1987), pp. 175–97.

³¹ That is Esther Herwart (née Vimar), a daughter, also called Esther, the widow of Charles de La Tour-du-Pin, Marquis de Gouvernet, and her daughter, another Esther, who married Henry, Lord Elland, the son of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax. A younger son, Anne Herwart, became a Catholic and so remained in France. He is best remembered as the closest friend of the poet La Fontaine (See *Correspondance de Bossuet*, Nouvelle édition, augmentées de lettres inédites et publiée... par C. Urbain et E. Levesque (Paris, 1909), II, pp. 503–12, and XIV, p. 499; Saint-Evremond, *Lettres: textes publiés, avec introduction, notices et notes de René Ternois* (Paris, 1967), pp. 173–75). Another younger son, Jean-Henri Herwart du Toit (or Du Fort) fled to Delft in Holland. His daughter, Anne Mary, married another Huguenot refugee living in London, Dr Peter Vatas. Their son, the Rev. Peter Vatas, was to become a Fellow of Christ Church, Oxford (W. H. Manchée, 'Huguenot London: greater Soho', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xvii (1942–46), pp. 423–24).

³² Born in 1645, he succeeded to his father's title as Baron of Huninguen (in Alsace), and was also known as Herwart des Marais. In exile, he became a friend of the free-thinking philosopher, Saint-Evremond: see Jacques Solé, *Le débat entre protestants et catholiques français de 1598 à 1685*. (Paris, 1985), I, p. 158.

³³ He became its second director in 1720 – *The Charter and by-laws of the Corporation of the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for poor French Protestants and their descendants residing in Great Britain 1718. With lists of the officers*. (La Providence, Rochester, 1972), p. 46; Arthur Giraud Browning, 'The early history of the French Protestant Hospital', *Proceedings of the Huguenot society of London*, vii (1901–1904), 193–216.

³⁴ Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: their settlements, churches and industries in England and Ireland*, (London, 1867), p. 476.

³⁵ See E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante ou la vie des protestants français* (Paris, 1855), v, pp. 512–23; Charles Weiss, *Histoire des Réfugiés protestants* (Paris, 1853), I, p. 313; Jacques Flournoy, *Journal (1675–1692)*, édité et annoté par Olivier Fatio (Genève, 1994), pp. 255, 267, 283–84, 344–58.

³⁶ *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1928), III, pp. 514–17.

cousins living in Southampton and at Louth in Lincolnshire.³⁷

It is said that Jacques-Philippe d'Herwart and his wife had seven children, although the records for Vevey list only five. Only Sabine survived to adulthood, though two of the other children died as teenagers in 1750.³⁸ One can imagine the feelings of Esther d'Herwart, who now saw her only remaining child depart for England, and in her letters to her daughter she was frequently to lament the lonely lot of parents once their children had moved away.³⁹

In the first years of their marriage – before the birth of their daughter Esther in 1768 and of their son Rowland in 1775 – the young couple spent quite a lot of time in London together and enjoyed the social round, eventually from a town house in St. James Square where their children were to be born.⁴⁰ In 1762 they travelled to Bristol and Bath with Rowland's sister Elizabeth and her husband, Sir George Strickland, and then on to Oxford to meet up with his aunts to visit various country houses as tourists.⁴¹ Conversation for Sabine was not easy, and when she met people who spoke little or no French, as one mutual acquaintance put it, 'they did nothing but laugh at each other'.⁴²

In Yorkshire, the couple first lived at Badsworth, about four miles from Nostell, in a house that had been lent by the fourth Baronet's close friend, the Marquis of Rockingham.⁴³ There, in March 1763, Sabine got her first taste of the many many times she was going to be left alone with her husband away, living a lethargic existence in what she called 'un des coins de l'univers les plus déserts et funestes' [one of the

³⁷ See 'Deeds relating to the Aufrère family: communicated by Charles Poyntz Stewart', *Proceedings of the Huguenot society of London*, IX (1911), pp. 108–11. Her eldest son, John Francis Maximilian d'Herwart of Southampton, Marianne Ursule d'Herwart, the wife of Lieutenant-General John Guise, Françoise-Sabine d'Herwart, Madame Sigismund de Cerjat, seigneur de Tyons, living in Lausanne, Sabine d'Herwart, Madame Sigismund de Bressona, living in Lausanne, and the father of Sabine Winn, Jacques-Philippe d'Herwart (the only one to be born in Vevey, where he was baptised on 16 February 1706). John Maximilian d'Herwart had a son William (who was to serve in a Swiss regiment in France) and two daughters, all of whom were to die unmarried. One of the daughters, Jedida d'Herwart, died in Southampton on 18 November 1779. The son of the Cerjat, Jean-François-Maximilien, born in Switzerland at Moudon, was naturalised British in 1754 and spent over twenty years living at Louth in Lincolnshire.

³⁸ The baptism records list Philippe-Sigismond (11 April 1729); Sabine-Catherine (10 September 1731); Charles-Antoine (23 March 1733); Julie-Suzanne (11 January 1736) and Sabine-Louise (12 April 1734), although notes made by Louisa Winn in July 1854 also mention another boy who died in 1727 after only 11 days (WYAS, NP/C6/14, Notebook compiled by Louisa Winn, containing notes and pedigrees of the families of Weiss, Düntz and D'Herwart). In 1749, the Pays de Vaud seems to have been struck by some form of pestilence, and in June, the Herwarts moved to Geneva to try and escape it. It was in vain. In September 1749 Charles-Antoine fell ill with headaches and earaches. In March 1750 the other surviving daughter, Julie-Suzanne, known as 'Souqui' died of a malignant fever, soon to be followed by her brother whose state had worsened, with a high fever and frequent nose-bleeds: see various letters to J. P. d'Herwart in NP/A1/B5/1, Personal papers of J. P. d'Herwart, miscellaneous correspondence.

³⁹ See WYAS, NP/A1/5A/1, letters from Jeanne Esther d'Herwart to her daughter.

⁴⁰ 26 November 1768: see, for instance, WYAS, NP/A4/1542/9, letter from Mary Winn (née Duncalf) of Ackton to Sir Rowland Winn, 28 November [1768], and Rowland on 3 June 1775; see *LI*, 13 June 1775.

⁴¹ They were to be frustrated in their desire to visit Blenheim: WYAS, NP/A4/1541/6, Rowland Winn to his father, the fourth Baronet, 24 August 1762. Sir George Strickland (1729–1808), fifth Baronet of Boynton, married Elizabeth Laetitia Winn (died 1813) on 25 November 1751 (*Complete Baronetage*, II, p. 115).

⁴² Lady Charlotte Erskin. See WYAS, NP/A4/1541/5, Elizabeth Strickland to her father, Bristol, 19 August 1762.

⁴³ *Memoirs of the life of the late Mrs. Catharine Cappe, written by herself* (London, 1823), p. 97.

most desolate and ill-fated corners of the universe],⁴⁴ where the only novelty was provided by his letters:

La manière dont je vis peut mieux se nommer végéter comme une plante que comme une créature. D'ailleurs, je ne suis pas au mieux. Je ne puis ni dormir, ni manger, qui étaient les seuls plaisirs comme tu sais qu'on puisse goûter à Badsworth.⁴⁵

She was certainly attached, as she said, to her 'cher lit' [dear bed],⁴⁶ and one frequently gets the impression that she was fond of staying there. Obviously, however, she had more to do after the death of the fourth Baronet in 1765, when the young couple moved to Nostell and took over responsibility for the estate.⁴⁷ In the eighteenth century, wives became more and more involved in running their households, especially as the domestic staff was made up more and more of women.⁴⁸ Thus preoccupations with hiring and firing servants (both Swiss and English) henceforth took up much of Sabine's time,⁴⁹ as she settled often violent quarrels between the servants and experienced problems with gossipy, quarrelsome housekeepers who spoiled the junior domestic staff and showed no sense of thrift by allowing them free access to the sideboard; and impudent scullery-maids who refused to milk the cows or make the bread; or servants who even made Nostell seem more like a brothel by having sex in one another's rooms 'vingt fois le jour' [twenty times a day]. Keeping cooks seems to have been a particular problem, and Sabine was trying to find replacements almost every year right up to the end of her life. One cook, for instance, refused to provide food for her visitors, because they arrived after hours.⁵⁰

It was increasingly common for women – with their enhanced responsibility for domestic management – to stay at home while their husbands travelled, and thus to rely more and more on the latter for contact with the outer world.⁵¹ Sir Rowland's reasons for travelling were varied. When not going as far as London,

⁴⁴ WYAS, NP/A4/1535/17, Sabine Winn to her husband, 'De Badsworth, ce lundi soir très tard [From Badsworth, this Monday evening very late]'. She admitted that her sisters-in-law did their best, but that they were powerless to restore her good spirits while she waited for his return: NP/A1/5/8, Sabine Winn to her husband, Nostell, 19 March 1763.

⁴⁵ 'The manner in which I live can better be called vegetating like a plant than like a human being. Besides, I am not in the best of health. I can neither sleep nor eat, which, as you know, are the only pleasures one can indulge in at Badsworth': WYAS, NP/A4/1535/15, Sabine Winn, Badsworth, to Rowland Winn, early 1760s.

⁴⁶ WYAS, NP/A1/5/8, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 30 July 1776.

⁴⁷ He died on 23 August 1765: *LI*, 27 August 1765; *NC*, 31 August 1765; *Derby Mercury* [henceforth *DM*], 6 September 1765.

⁴⁸ See Trumbach, *Egalitarian Family*, p.132; Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 8–9, 127–60; Baird, *Mistress of the House*, pp. 39–41.

⁴⁹ I first became interested in Sabine Winn when asked by the archivist and historian Brett Harrison, who was preparing an exhibition on ethnic minorities in Yorkshire, to translate some letters from Suzette Pilgrim, one of Madame d'Herwart's maids in Vevey, to a young French-speaking black servant at Nostell, called Jean-Philippe: WYAS, NP/A4/1530/14, 21, 29. In 1775, in an attempt to get round the law forbidding the sale of black children in England, Sir Rowland was offered a loaf of bread for £30, with a boy being given 'in the bargain': NP/A4/1594/17, W. Pitner, London, to Sir Rowland Winn, 14 September 1775.

⁵⁰ WYAS, NP/A4/1535/6, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 9 October 1775; NP/A4/1535/8, 14 October 1775; NP/A4/1530/57, 5 September 1769.

⁵¹ T. Lummis and J. Marsh, *The Woman's Domain: Women and the English Country House* (London, 1993), p. 54; Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, p.7. Lady Bristol's living away from home at court in later life was an noted exception which was resented by her husband: Trumbach, *Egalitarian Family*, p. 133.

it was usually to supervise his other estates in Lincolnshire, helping, for instance, to install a rabbit warren on a piece of fallow land.⁵² When in London on his own, there was relatively little time for pleasure, apart from dining out at the houses of various relatives, or going to coffee houses and playing the odd game of billiards. He claimed that in any case he preferred to stay in and write to his wife.⁵³ Otherwise he spent his time in endless discussions with lawyers over lawsuits, or trying to raise money on mortgages, or being forced to attend hearings at the House of Commons on bills that affected his estates or the Ackworth foundling school and hospital (which had been one of his father's major preoccupations).⁵⁴ After travelling to Switzerland from July 1779 to June 1780, to settle the Herwart estate, in 1781 we find him in London at first naively counting on his influence to avoid paying duty on the goods coming from Switzerland, and praising his friends among the customs commissioners, before cursing them when they made him pay, largely because of interdepartmental rivalry with the Treasury.⁵⁵

Another reason for frequent absence was politics. Like his father before him, who had narrowly failed to get elected for a county seat in 1734,⁵⁶ the fifth Baronet felt it his duty as a member of the landed gentry to stand for parliament. In the middle of March 1768, encouraged by the inhabitants of Pontefract, Sir Rowland Winn thus offered himself as a candidate for the election to be held on Monday, 21 March. This was to be an occasion worthy of Hogarth. According to the *Leeds Intelligencer*, even before the election was held the whole town was 'already a scene of tumult, riot, and confusion; the windows of several gentlemen's houses having been entirely broke to pieces by the outrageous mobs'.⁵⁷ The result of the election was 44 votes for Lord Galway, 42 for Sir Rowland Winn. With only 21 for the third candidate, Henry Strachey, the Mayor promptly declared the first two to have been duly elected.⁵⁸ However, a letter sent to the *Whitehall Evening Post* described how the mob had stopped from voting those voters whom they thought unfavourable to Sir Rowland Winn, and Lord Galway, and Strachey petitioned the House of Commons, stating 'that the returning officer had been compelled by force to return Sir R. Winn, and that 180 burgesses would have voted, had they not been intimidated by the fury of the populace'. The House accepted this argument and thus on 24 November 1768 the election of Sir Rowland Winn was declared void.⁵⁹ Pontefract was a parliamentary borough where only the occupiers of certain burgage properties had the vote. Most of these houses were kept empty and conveyed to temporary tenants by their landlords just for the period of an election. They thus represented absentee interests, not those who actually lived locally.⁶⁰ Strachey himself lived at Sutton Court, near Bristol, and the absentee interests here were above all those of the East India Company.⁶¹ A

⁵² WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, Thornton, 19 July 1783.

⁵³ Most of Sir Rowland's almost daily correspondence to his wife is kept in WYAS, NP/ A1/5A/3.

⁵⁴ See WYAS, NP/A4/1603/9; A4/1620/17, Rowland Winn to Lord North, 29 April [n.d.], 22 April 1772. The fourth Baronet was treasurer of the institution (see NP/A4/1600), and his son was a committee member (see *LI*, 31 May 1768).

⁵⁵ WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 11, 12, 20, 25 and 26 Mai 1781.

⁵⁶ *NC*, 25 May 25th, 1734, 1 June 1st, 1734.

⁵⁷ *LI*, 22 March 1768.

⁵⁸ *LI*, 29 March 1768.

⁵⁹ George Fox, *The History of Pontefract in Yorkshire* (Pontefract, 1827), p. 68. The letter is reprinted in *DM*, 1 April 1768.

⁶⁰ For this practice in the Pontefract election, see F. O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties. The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England 1734–1832* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 36–37.

⁶¹ *Royal Kalendar, or complete and annual register for 1773*, p. 42.

fresh election was held on 5 December 1768, with Sir Rowland and his brother Edward standing against Lord Galway and Henry Strachey, but the result was a foregone conclusion, for the votes of the 349 inhabitants of Pontefract who voted for the Winns were immediately disallowed, and the decision was yet again confirmed in February 1770.⁶²

For fourteen years the townsfolk of Pontefract seized every opportunity to express their disgust with this system, muffling the bells or organising other forms of disruption, such as shouting 'Winn forever' whenever those chosen by the burgesses tried to celebrate their victories.⁶³ On 7 March 1769, the inhabitants celebrated Rowland Winn's birthday with a ball at which the ladies wore yellow ribbons and sprigs of gorse or *whin* in full bloom, and drank toasts to the theme: '*May the light of Pontefract Liberty never be put out by an East-Indian Extinguisher*'. A joiner, named Otley, was so moved, he even gave his son the name of Winn. Whenever he visited the town, Sir Rowland was greeted with loud shouts of joy, and events concerning the Winns, such as the birth of their son, were marked with public rejoicings. In 1769 his supporters created the Free and Easy Society, a wining and dining club designed to further his views, through organising public events such as dances and balls, and again cheering their hero whenever he appeared. As said the writer of the *Leeds Mercury*: 'In short, were we to remember every particular method the people of Pontefract took to shew their unalterable esteem for that worthy patriot, it would take up a great part of our paper'.⁶⁴

It was not until 1783 that the son-in-law of the Duke of Grafton, John Smyth of Heath, finally won the right to be considered as duly elected by the householders as Member for Pontefract,⁶⁵ but by then Sir Rowland's star had started to wane. He had first irritated the inhabitants in 1774 when he had insisted on being free to choose his own fellow-candidate (probably his brother), and he had been forced to withdraw in favour of Charles James Fox who, despite his fame, also fell foul of the burgesses.⁶⁶ In 1775, the House of Commons again decided in favour of the sitting members and Sir Rowland commented: 'Ainsi, adieu la liberté de Pontefract, ce dont, je t'assure, je ne suis pas fâché et ils sont biens punis de leur ingratitude'.⁶⁷ When he tried for the last time to get elected for Pontefract on 2 April 1784, when there was a rumour that John Smyth was to become a peer, Sir Rowland came third in the list of candidates being supported by the inhabitants. John Smyth was just too popular as the man who had broken the mould.⁶⁸

One of the major effects this experience had on Sir Rowland was to make him shift his political allegiance away from the Whigs, thus bringing him into opposition to his father's old friend the Marquis of Rockingham, remarking that he had had little support in his struggle from either Rockingham or from

⁶² *LI*, 13 December 1768 and 13 February 1770.

⁶³ *LI*, 3 January 1769; *Leeds Mercury* [henceforth *LM*], 21 August, 4 September and 9 October 1770.

⁶⁴ *LI* and *LM*, 14 March 1769; *LM*, 23 May 1769; *LI*, 15 August 1769; *LI*, 13 June 1775; *LM*, 9 May 1769; *LM*, 22 May and 11 September 1770.

⁶⁵ *LI*, 15 and 22 April 1783.

⁶⁶ *LM*, 11 and 18 October 1774.

⁶⁷ 'Thus, farewell the freedom of Pontefract, about which, I can assure you, I am not put out, and they are well punished for their ingratitude': WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 2 March 1775.

⁶⁸ WYAS, NP/A1/5/8, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 30 June 1784; *LI*, 6 April 1784.

that other local Whig hero, George Savile.⁶⁹ He opposed their interests in York in 1774, and sought an audience with the prime minister, Lord North, eventually hoping the latter would help him obtain an Irish peerage. Politics was yet another drain on an already tight purse. At the time of his death, the *Leeds Intelligencer* said that Sir Rowland had spent near £20,000 on Pontefract.⁷⁰

Another source of expense was Sir Rowland's interest in horses. He tried to trade in them, sending servants to buy horses as far afield as France,⁷¹ and also raced them. He seems to have started entering his horses in 1767 with a grey colt called Perilous and a grey gelding called Blameless, neither of which was particularly successful.⁷² Then there seems to have been a pause until 1773 when he tried again with a brown colt called Conjector, again without much success.⁷³ His most serious hopes were from 1781 with a bay horse called Miracle, which after some initial wins again eventually proved to be a disappointment.⁷⁴ In the last year of his life he pinned his hopes on a grey gelding called Dwarf. Its momentary success at Wakefield led Sabine to comment that it compensated 'du peu de bonheur de pauvre Miracle' [for the little success of poor Miracle], while complaining that his trainer had shown poor judgment in choosing jockeys.⁷⁵

As with many people, illness played a large part in the Winn family's lives, and like her mother Sabine showed a particular interest in herbal remedies, sharing her mother's mistrust of British doctors. Her papers are full of recipes for remedies in French, German and English for both humans and animals, especially for skin and hair problems, and she commented on one recipe for an essence that it could not be found in London and that she had made it herself.⁷⁶ She also copied out articles such as one for a cure for dropsy from the *York Chronicle* and advertisements like one for John Mudge's *A radical and expeditious cure for a recent catarrhus cough* (London 1779).⁷⁷ Following an enquiry from her husband, the bookseller John Murray noted

⁶⁹ For this and the following references to his politics, see WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3. For details of the fourth Baronet's support for Rockingham and his friends, see Marjorie Bloy, 'Rockingham and Yorkshire: the political, economic and social role of Charles Watson-Wentworth, the second Marquis of Rockingham' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1986), pp. 39, 179, 298, 468.

⁷⁰ *LI*, 1 March 1785.

⁷¹ WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 20 February 1773; NP/A4/1558/180, James Clement to Rowland Winn, Paris, 8 April 1781.

⁷² Perilous was entered for the Corporation plate at Doncaster, where it came fourth (*LI*, 29 September 1767), while Blameless came third at Scarborough (*NC*, 5 September 1767).

⁷³ Conjector, came third in races at Wakefield and Northallerton (*LI*, 14 September and 19 October 1773). It came second in the Corporation purse at Newcastle in 1775 (*LI*, 27 June 1775). He came last with a bay horse at Doncaster in 1776 (*LI*, 1 October 1776), and his bay colt came forth there in 1780 (*LI*, 3 October 1780).

⁷⁴ It came second at Wakefield in September 1781 (*LI*, 11 September 1781), when not scratched (*LI*, 18 September 1781). The same year at Doncaster it came fourth (*LI*, 2 October 1781). In 1782, it came second at York (*LI*, 27 August 1782). In 1783, it won at Richmond with a walk-over (*LI*, 16 September 1783), but came second at Stockton (*NC*, 22 September 1783) and Northallerton (*NC*, 18 October 1783). In 1784, it came second at Manchester (*LI*, 8 June 1784) and also failed to win at Morpeth (*NC*, 25 September 1784).

⁷⁵ See *LI* & *LM*, 21 September 1784. The grey gelding won again later the same month at Doncaster (*LI*, 28 September 1784), though it then came fifth there in the Corporation plate (*LI*, 5 October 1784); WYAS, NP/A4/1535/19, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 'Nostell, mercredi soir'.

⁷⁶ WYAS, NP/A4/1538/17, note, [n.d.]. It was, of course, common for gentlewomen to dabble in medicinal cures: see Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp.152–54.

⁷⁷ See WYAS, NP/A4/1538/25.

that Lady Winn, wishing 'to purchase a few books upon officinal botany' wanted to know which were 'the best and most esteemed' and added:

Not wishing to spend more time in pursuing the scientific knowledge of vegetables, [she] is desirous to be truly informed about the real virtues of simples [or medicinal herbs], and prefers such authors as lay down plain and particular directions how to prepare the best medicines from simples. How they are to be taken and what is a proper dose.⁷⁸

She scribbled on a bit of paper that she possessed William Salmon's *The New London Dispensatory* (1678) and George Bate's *Pharmacopœia Bateana: or, Bate's dispensatory* (1700), and noted down details from both.⁷⁹

In Switzerland Rowland had been largely free of the long-lasting violent headaches that had plagued him as a teenager in England.⁸⁰ Soon after returning there as a married man, he had fits of giddiness and his health broke down in 1763 as did that of Sabine when they went to take the waters in Tunbridge Wells.⁸¹ However, she was usually in better health than her husband.⁸² In 1776, suffering from violent bilious attacks and with increasing gout in his right hand, he was forced to spend time at Bath in the hands of a doctor whom he said had the reputation of even taking money from the dead; though, as his wife remarked, apart from the pain, gout was at least an excuse for drinking Madeira in an attempt to cure it. Nevertheless, however agreeable, the Madeira seems to have had little effect, and in 1784 Sir Rowland had to return to Bath, where the famous doctor, Sir Noah Thomas, forced him to stay for some time.⁸³

The love between husband and wife seems to have matured, despite their many separations. Sabine was most sharp with her husband in her early letters, asking him for instance in 1763 what 'manège' [little game] he was up to, refusing to demean herself and beg for him to come home, and signing off by saying that she was now no more than his 'très humble servante' [most humble servant], and none of the usual his dear Sabine or rather 'Bibby' who was going to be entirely his in body and mind for the rest of her life.⁸⁴ The reason for her pique was probably that she was already growing tired of being left behind in Yorkshire while he was away in town. When he wrote that his return had had to be delayed 'par tant de différentes causes' [for so many different reasons],⁸⁵ she snapped back:

Je suis bien édifiée, mon cher, du contenu de la lettre que je viens de recevoir. Un homme qui a pu me tromper et manque autant à sa parole, il lui va à merveille de prendre le ton dur avec sa malheureuse femme. Courage, mon cher, adopte tous les

⁷⁸. WYAS, NP/A4/1538/17, note, [n.d.].

⁷⁹. *Ibid.*

⁸⁰. WYAS, NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, July 1759.

⁸¹. WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Fourth Baronet to Sabine Winn, 15 August 1763. As Rowland got better, Sabine herself developed a continuous fever and trembling and the doctors were not able to identify her complaint: NP/A4/1539/7, Fourth Baronet to his son, Rowland, 13 September 1763.

⁸². Except in 1774 when she suffered for a while from a recurrent pain in the side. The same year, Sir Rowland had to see a dentist about a front tooth he had damaged in a fall, and he repeatedly tried to get London dentists to come north to Nostell to treat the family: WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 15, 18 and 20 May 1774, 28 and 30 May 1783.

⁸³. WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 8 August 1784; NP/A1/5/8, Sabine Winn to her husband, 7 July 1781. Sir Rowland also had casks of Madeira shipped in the holds of ships from Portugal to Brazil and back in order to improve it (NP/A4/1607/10).

⁸⁴. WYAS, NP/A4/1508/19, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 29 March 1763.

⁸⁵. WYAS, NP/A4/1558/165, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 30 March 1763

vices de la ville où tu t'es établi, mais sache aussi que mon parti est pris. Je pars pour Londres et ne ménage plus rien si tu ne reviens pas cette semaine. Sois content d'en avoir passé trois à Londres. Au nom de Dieu rentre dans toi-même et fais voir que tu as des sentiments à toi et non que chacun te mène comme il lui plaît. Tu m'as écrit dans toutes tes lettres que tout le monde exige et insiste que tu restes à Londres; tout ce temps tu as suivi leurs conseils religieusement. J'exige à mon tour que tu reviennes cette semaine, voyant, mon cher, si j'ai moins de crédit que le public. La vérité est que tu aimes Londres beaucoup plus que vous n'aimez votre femme.⁸⁶

Relations also seem to become strained in October 1775, following the birth of her son. She got angry because her husband did not leave her with any change and made an ambiguous remark which might perhaps be construed as a veiled allusion to infidelity, while breaking into English:

La nourrice de ma petite m'a prié de lui donner cinq guinées. J'avais honte d'avouer que je n'avais rien. Je lui dis que j'enverrais changer un billet. Que puis-je faire? Tu devrais, il me semble, laisser toujours un peu d'argent, du moins quand tu es absent. Je connais une certaine personne qui n'aurait pas ma patience et c'est aussi pourquoi, je suppose, elle mérite d'être préférée. *This is exactly the state of the case. I could not help, when I began to write, mentioning these circumstances. because I really was very much vexed, &c.* J'espère que tu seras enchanté des progrès que j'ai faits dans la langue anglaise.⁸⁷

In another letter of the same month, she feared that the very thought of her was enough to make him downhearted; that he should perhaps forget he was married, and in the following letter she said she would like to be able to 'tout oublier et pardonner' [forgive and forget everything], but how could she do that if he was not 'ouvert' [open] with her? However, this strain in their relationship seems to have passed quickly and she was soon once more assuring him that she could not love him more tenderly.⁸⁸

⁸⁶. 'I am most edified, my dear, by the contents of the letter that I have just received. For a man who has been able to deceive me and break his word so often, it truly suits him to adopt a harsh tone with his unfortunate wife. Courage, my dear, adopt all the vices of the city in which you have settled down, but be also aware that my mind is made up. I shall set out for London and no longer act tactfully, if you do not come back this week. Be pleased that you have spent three in London. In the name of God return to your senses and show that you have feelings of your own and not that everyone leads you on as it pleases them. You have written to me in all your letters that everyone demands and insists that you remain in London; all this time you have followed their advice religiously. I demand in my turn that you come home this week. Let's see, my dear, if I have less credit than the public. The truth is that you love London a good deal more than you do your wife.' WYAS, NP/A4/1558/166, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 3 April 1763.

⁸⁷. 'My little girl's nurse asked me to give her five guineas. I was ashamed to confess that I didn't have any money. I told her that I would send off to have a note changed. What can I do? You should, it seems to me, always leave a little money, at least when you are absent. I know a certain person who would not be as patient as I am and it is why, I suppose, she deserves to be preferred. *This is exactly the state of the case. I could not help, when I began to write, mentioning these circumstances, because I really was very much vexed, &c.* I hope that you will be delighted with the progress that I have made in the English language.' WYAS, NP/A4/1535/6, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, October 1775. As we can see, the passage in italics was written in English in the text. She had made significant progress in the language since first coming to England, when her father-in-law commented that though she soon understood what was said, she made slow progress in learning to speak English herself, and added the wry comment: 'nor can I say that she takes any delight in learning of it'. NP/A1/4/16, Fourth Baronet to J. P. d'Herwart, 27 November 1763.

⁸⁸. WYAS, NP/A4/1535/8, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 24 October 1775; NP/A4/1535/9, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 19 October 1775; NP/A1/5/8, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 8 July 1776.

As for her husband, during his many trips away he usually tried to write to her every day and when he was not interviewing new servants and trying to encourage them to come North without their wives, he was, as he said, only too happy to be kept busy running errands for her, be it in London or Lincolnshire, looking for tea and coffee, spermaceti, bed linen, silk, calico, perfumed garters – even if they were out of fashion – and oriental slippers (which had to be fetched from France), or having her watches repaired by top London watchmakers such as Thomas Mudge, having a small carriage built for her and providing it with a small horse, ordering a bamboo chair for his daughter from Chippendale, seeing the Adams about some statuary or the final touches for decoration at Nostell, or sending up to Nostell a whole menagerie of animals and birds for the children to play with.⁸⁹ She copied advertisements from the newspapers of unusual devices to look out for, such as a new water closet. Above all, she sent him to look for small dogs, which did not always live up to their description. After his death she continued to send people looking for dogs and, indeed, during the French Revolution she even had a man scouring France and going as far as Dijon to look for one.⁹⁰

At least one tradesman complained about unpaid bills, saying that Sir Rowland's word was 'not to be depended on',⁹¹ and inevitably the Winns were frequently the victims of hearsay. Quite frequently Sir Rowland commented on people being prepared to come and work for them despite the gossip. In 1777, the disgruntled husband of one of their daughter's governesses spread it around that the Winns starved his wife, and that while they doted on their son, they entirely neglected their daughter, who wept from morning till night.⁹²

If the Winns annoyed some of those whom they employed, they certainly won loyalty and respect from others. Swiss friends commenting in particular on how obliging Sir Rowland was;⁹³ and much of Sabine's later correspondence with former servants reveals how many were willing to continue to serve her, even when far removed from Nostell, especially when they were, like her, foreigners in England.⁹⁴ It is difficult to say to what extent one can trust the entirely negative view of the young Rowland Winn and his wife given in her memoirs by a cousin of the Winns, Catharine Harrison (later to become the noted Unitarian philanthropist, Mrs Catharine Cappe), since – as she admits – her brother quarrelled with Rowland Winn and she herself frequented members of the family with whom they were at odds. She accused the young couple of being thoughtless of others through keeping late hours. She contrasted Rowland with his father,⁹⁵ giving a picture of a vindictive and petty man, jealous of his

⁸⁹. WYAS, NP/A4/1532/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 11 May 1774; NP/A4/1559/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 17 June 1779; NP/A1/5A/3, 22 April 1777.

⁹⁰. WYAS, NP/A1/5A/8, C. Monjeau to Sabine and Esther Winn, 13 August 1791.

⁹¹. WYAS, NP/A4/1606/5, J. Blackburn to Henry Allen, 10 January 1771.

⁹². WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 22 April 1777.

⁹³. WYAS, NP/A4/1558/181, De Mesery to an unnamed correspondent, 4 May 1780.

⁹⁴. See WYAS, NP/A1/5A/8, Personal papers of Sabine Winn: letters from various people on matters of personal business; NP/A1/6A/3, Letters from Pierre Girod, in London, 1788–1799; NP/A4/1558, Correspondence, chiefly in French. For a discussion of the knotty problem of the master-servant relationship, see Trumbach, *Egalitarian Family*, pp.129–50.

⁹⁵. The fourth Baronet was Sheriff of the county in 1732 (*DM*, 6 September 1765), and served as a magistrate in the West Riding for many years, notably sitting among those judging Jacobite rebels after Culloden in 1746 (*NC*, 6 September and 11 October 1746). In 1748, he was among those seeking to control the movement of cattle following an outbreak of distemper (*NC*, 9 January, 1748), and in 1756 he was called upon to judge food rioters (Bloy, 'Rockingham and Yorkshire', p. 179).

sister Ann,⁹⁶ for having taken over the role of mistress of the house during his absence, and now on his return bent on persecuting her. As for Sabine, she was to belie her appearance which 'was singularly captivating, for she was very beautiful, and had a great deal of vivacity' with 'fierce dark eyes sparkling with a radiance exclusively their own.' This, according to Mrs Cappe, hid a shallow nature, with Sabine amusing herself at the expense of others behind their backs 'in her broken English'. There may be some xenophobia here and Mrs Cappe certainly liked to show herself to advantage in her narrative.⁹⁷

What is true is that Rowland and his wife quarrelled with most of their relatives, and not just on his side of the family where there seems to have been a fairly widespread reluctance to accept this foreign wife.⁹⁸ As early as 1770, Sir Rowland said of the Stricklands – to whom he owed money – that he looked on them 'comme le reste de la famille et comme des gens qui ne méritent nullement notre attention' [as on the rest of the family and as people not deserving our slightest attention].⁹⁹ Shortly before his death, he curried favour with his aunt Mary, encouraging her to make him her sole legatee, but otherwise the only

⁹⁶ Baptised on 31 December 1734 (old style), she married her cousin, the Hon. George Winn, the future Lord Headley, on 12 April 1765. She died on 9 October 1774 (WYAS, NP/C6/12/1Pedigree of the Winn Family, 1844; *Complete Peerage*, VI, 429–30).

⁹⁷ *Memoirs of the life of the late Mrs. Catharine Cappe*, pp. 78–103. Initially at least Ann Winn's future husband, her cousin, George Allanson Winn – who had helped in arranging their marriage settlement, and who had accompanied the fourth Baronet to Vevey for their wedding (see WYAS, NP/A4/1554, Letters respecting the marriage of Sir Rowland Winn with the daughter of M. de Hervart) – spread the word in London that Rowland Winn was to be congratulated for being 'in possession of a young lady so agreeable and so accomplished' (WYAS, NP/A4/1507/23, Thomas Dundas to the fourth Baronet, 12 February 1762, and when defending himself against the gossip about their treatment of their daughter, Rowland Winn sought the support of the famous blind magistrate, Sir John Fielding, and, according to Rowland Winn, the latter was only too happy to defend his reputation: 'je ferai avancer toutes choses autant qu'il sera en mon pouvoir et pour preuve il faut te dire que j'ai déjà été chez Sir John Fielding, qui me proteste sur son honneur que tout ce que Picq avait dit à Madame était absolument faux; que bien loin de parler de cette façon ou même le penser, qu'il m'a toujours regardé comme un homme très respectable et le magistrat le plus utile dans toute la province de York et qu'il avait toujours eu le plus grand respect et estime pour moi; qu'il avait connu mon père très particulièrement; qu'il avait toujours eu la plus haute opinion de lui et qu'il trouvait que je marchais sur ses pas' [I will hurry everything along as much as it is in my power and for proof I must tell you that I have already been to the home of Sir John Fielding, who protested to me on his honour that all that Picq had said to Madame was absolutely false; that very far from speaking in that way or even thinking so, he had always looked on me as a very respectable man and as the most useful magistrate in the whole of Yorkshire and that he had always had the highest respect and esteem for me; that he had known my father particularly well; that he always had had the highest opinion of him and found that I was following in his footsteps] (NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 10 April 1777).

⁹⁸ While in Switzerland from 1779 to 1780, Rowland Winn quarrelled with Sabine's cousins over the Herwart inheritance. As his friend, De Mesery, wrote to him on 20 May 1780, thinking that he had already returned home: 'Pour le coup, je vous crois au milieu de votre chère famille, et goûtant à long traits, le plaisir d'y être, et celui d'être débarrassé de gens, qui n'ont d'autres sentiments que celui d'avoir de l'argent. Voilà l'âme que je reconnais, en le nommant, Mr de Cerjat, qui vient encore de m'empêcher de vendre deux chevaux. Si c'était un homme à mordre à l'hameçon, qu'il me ferait de plaisir de lui percer le ventre' [This time, I believe that you are in the bosom of your dear family, and imbibing in long draughts the pleasure of being there, and that of being ridded of people, who have no other feelings than that of having money. In naming him I can recognize just such a soul: Monsieur Cerjat, who has just once more stopped me selling two horses. If he were a man to take the bait on the hook, what pleasure it would give me to pierce his belly] (WYAS, NP/A4/1558/185). Sabine's father died in March 1764 (see NP/A4/1593/9, De Lameloue (née Fontanieu) to Sabine Winn, 15 March 1764), and her mother on 15 May 1779 (see NP/A1/5/16, Various letters and papers in the settlement of the estate of J. P. d'Herwart).

⁹⁹ WYAS, NP/A1/5A/3, Rowland Winn to Sabine Winn, 22 April 1777.

members of the family to have remained on friendly and affectionate terms seem to have been his cousin on his mother's side, Sir Edward Dering (who had spent some time with him in Switzerland),¹⁰⁰ and his sister Charlotte.¹⁰¹ When Sir Rowland complained to his sister Mary that he never heard from her except when she asked for money, she replied rather tartly that that was because when she wrote letters on any other subject, they were never answered.¹⁰²

After Sir Rowland's sudden death at Retford on his way to London on 20 February 1785, his widow stopped the work at Nostell and shut herself away with her children.¹⁰³ She seems to have lost the desire to travel after the birth of her son. When her mother was dying in 1779, she refused to leave her children and made herself ill at the thought of travelling to Switzerland with them, fearful of being kidnapped on the way by French privateers, and so Sir Rowland had to go there on his own when it was already too late.¹⁰⁴ Now, in 1785, she turned away visitors and notably refused an invitation from Charlotte for her daughter Esther to spend some time in London, adding mysteriously that she was 'unwilling to have her beyond the reach of [her] eye and inspection, for reasons [she could not] mention by letter'.¹⁰⁵ We have seen the accusations of neglect and, for her parents, Esther had been a difficult child. Sir Rowland hardly ever received one of her letters without finding fault with it. At least one of her governesses complained of her obstinacy.¹⁰⁶ In July 1776, Sabine wrote to her husband to say that Esther had been behaving well, not having had a tantrum since he left:

Je ne doute point que tous ses airs, ne passent-ils, ont de beaucoup diminué.
On ne peut pas devenir parfait tout d'un coup.¹⁰⁷

This did not last and in 1782 we find her begging her father's forgiveness for having

¹⁰⁰. Sixth Baronet, of Surrenden Dering (Kent) (*Complete Baronetage*, II, p. 7). The fifth Baronet – also called Edward – married Mary Henshaw, the eldest daughter of Edward Henshaw and his wife, Elizabeth (née Roper or Rooper) – a direct descendant of Thomas More – of Well Hall in Eltham (Kent) in 1728. The fourth Baronet Winn of Nostell married her younger sister, Susannah, in 1729. Their father had died in 1726, and they were said to have fortunes of £40,000 and £30,000 respectively (see *Northampton Mercury*, 11 July 1726, 4 March 1727/8, and 8 September 1729, and *Complete Baronetage*, VII, p. 42, VIII, p. 177 and X, p. 80). For Switzerland, see NP/A1/4/15, Dulon to the fourth Baronet, 26 October 1757.

¹⁰¹. A gentle soul, who suffered from a form of epilepsy in her youth (see WYAS, NP/A4/1576/5, Dr Adam Askew to the fourth Baronet, 26 October 1763). She was baptised on 7 February 1737 (old style) and died in London unmarried 2 April 1797 (NP/C6/12/1, Pedigree of the Winn Family, 1844; *LI*, 17 April 1797). In 1768, she nearly married a certain Mr Chester, a lieutenant in the Guards (NP/A4/1508/47, Charlotte Winn to Rowland Winn, 2 April 1768).

¹⁰². WYAS, NP/C6/12/1, Pedigree of the Winn Family, 1844. Mary was baptised on 18 January 1736 (old style) and she died at Exmouth in Devon in April 1800, unmarried (*LI*, 21 April 1800). She was to take a leading role in defending Sabine's daughter, Esther, after the latter's marriage in 1793 (see NP/A4/1542, letters to Esther Sabina Williamson from her aunt Miss Mary Winn).

¹⁰³. Sir Rowland's death seems to have been the result of an accident, on one of the coldest days in an exceptionally cold winter (*LI*, 22 March 1785). Most newspapers simply reproduced more or less faithfully the rather bald report given in the *Leeds Intelligencer*: 'On Sunday last died suddenly, at Retford, in Nottinghamshire, on his road to London, Sir Rowland Winn, Bart, of Nostell, in this county. He hath left a disconsolate widow and two children, a son and a daughter ...' (*LI*, 1 March 1785).

¹⁰⁴. WYAS, NP/A1/5A/11/8, Letters and papers at the time of the death of Jeanne Esther d'Herwart.

¹⁰⁵. WYAS, NP/A1/5A/10, Sabine Winn to Charlotte Winn, 25 May 1785.

¹⁰⁶. WYAS, NP/A1/5A/8, Madame Le Resche to Sabine Winn, 1782.

¹⁰⁷. 'I do not doubt that all her airs and graces, if they haven't disappeared, have much decreased. One cannot become perfect all of a sudden. It is good enough to see some change.' WYAS, NP/A4/1535/12, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 4 July 1776.

deeply offended him.¹⁰⁸ She was certainly a bright child, who, as an independent observer said, wrote a 'beautiful hand', spelt accurately, arranged her ideas with precision, was a 'mistress of French and Italian' and had 'a competent knowledge of music, dancing, &c.'¹⁰⁹ However, once widowed, her mother obviously found her difficult to control, and sometime around the beginning of the 1790s, the family lawyer wrote to the family solicitor to say that he had 'heard it repeated in company that Miss Winn was about to elope with the apprentice of a glazier & that post horses paraded before the gates at Nostell night after night to convey her away'.¹¹⁰ When in 1793 Esther married the baker, John Williamson,¹¹¹ her mother cut her out of her will and never spoke to her again, even refusing to see her when she herself was dying. As her daughter noted, despite her own desire for reconciliation her 'mother at the trying hour still held [her] in the same contempt'.¹¹²

As for the son, Rowland, he had certainly always been the apple of his parents' eye, a bonny child with a cheerful sunny disposition. After his father died, he seems to have been largely left to his own devices, especially following the death of his tutor, and so the family instigated Chancery proceedings to have him educated away from home. Sabine was even threatened with imprisonment.¹¹³ It is not known whether or not they finally accepted the compromise first suggested in 1790 that the young sixth Baronet should take lessons with a clergyman in Hemsworth, south of Nostell,¹¹⁴ before leaving on his grand tour. In any case, Sabine remained fiercely protective of her son, ordering out of Nostell any young lady she suspected of setting her cap at him.¹¹⁵

Apart from the problems with her children, Lady Winn also had to face up to many financial worries caused by her husband's extravagance, and relied more and more on the Wakefield solicitor, Shepley Watson, to sort out her affairs.¹¹⁶ Eventually her health broke down. By 1791, the gout in both her

¹⁰⁸ WYAS, NP/A1/5/10, Esther Winn to Roland Winn, 25 February 1782.

¹⁰⁹ WYAS, NP/A4/1538/3, Charles Mellish to John Maddocks, 30 June 1790. The *Leeds Intelligencer*, 3 December 1771, contains an 'Ode to Miss Winn on her Birthday, November 26' presenting her as a gracious nymph ruling over the lake at Nostell. It begins 'Again shall Dunny tune the lay', which reveals the author to be the Pontefract bard, John Lund (see Fox, *History of Pontefract*, p. 6).

¹¹⁰ WYAS, NP/A4/1539/6, Fairfax Fearnely, Halifax, to Shepley Watson, Wakefield, undated.

¹¹¹ They were married at the Collegiate Parish Church in Manchester on 9 January 1793 (WYAS, NP/C6/12/1, Pedigree of the Winn Family, 1844), and lived in and near Manchester until 1799 when they moved nearer to his relatives and set up a small-holding at Morton, near Gainsborough (Lincolnshire) in an attempt to restore his health (see NP/A4/1545, Correspondence between Mrs Williamson and Shepley Watson; NP/A4/1556, Letters from Mr and Mrs Williamson). The archives contain several references to his first profession, notably an inscription on a letter by the family solicitor, Shepley Watson, identifying John Williamson as having been 'the Baker at Nostell' (NP/A1/6A/4/2, Esther Williamson to Shepley Watson, 11 December 1799).

¹¹² WYAS, NP/A4/1542/4, Mary Winn to Esther Williamson, 7 October 1798; NP/A1/6A/4/2, Esther Williamson to Shepley Watson, c. 1799.

¹¹³ WYAS, NP/A4/1531/1, Case for the opinion of Mr Erskine on matters surrounding the Chancery case concerning the education of Rowland Winn, with opinions, 7 May 1791.

¹¹⁴ The Reverend J. Simpson: see WYAS, NP/A4/1531/19, Charles Mellish to Lady Winn, Badsworth, 9 November 1790.

¹¹⁵ WYAS, NP/A4/1556/1, J. Williamson, Beverley, to Mr Williamson, Manchester, July [1796?].

¹¹⁶ Following her husband's death, Sabine naturally had to deal with their unpaid bills (WYAS, NP/A4/1551/1, Robert Adam to Lady Winn, 9 September 1788). If major work on the house then stopped, leaving the new 'Adam' wing unfinished, with the help of Shepley Watson and others, she nevertheless continued to make some improvements. In 1792 – while her son was still a minor – she oversaw, for instance, the extension of the lake: NP/A4/1551/14, Shepley Watson to Lady Winn, 10 March 1792).

hands was so serious she could not write. She became obese and in August 1798, it was said that she had 'so far lost the use of her limbs as to be obliged to be lifted by two people in and out of bed'.¹¹⁷ After a short illness, she died at 11 a.m. on 16 September 1798, with her son not even bothering to inform the other members of his family.¹¹⁸

While Sabine's own story ends sadly, as did that of her daughter, who, having lost her first husband, made a disastrous second marriage before dying young, the latter's children were quickly welcomed back into the family by her brother, adopted the name of Winn, and eventually inherited the estate.¹¹⁹ It was as if the family were closing ranks after an intrusion by a foreigner. In the marriage in 1819 of Sabine's grandson, Charles, to a granddaughter of the Stricklands, it is tempting to see the final consecration of the reunion of sides of the family who had quarrelled during Sabine's lifetime.

Although Sabine certainly left her mark on Nostell in a way that no upstart would have dared,¹²⁰ we have seen the initial reaction of Roland Winn's father to his desire to marry 'an alien unacquainted with the language, customs and manners of the English nation' instead of choosing 'a proper wife' with connections, and even if members of the family did try to accept her, we have also seen that relations with

¹¹⁷ She had to dictate to her daughter: see WYAS, NP/A1/6/13, Lady Winn to Shepley Watson, Nostell, 23 March 1791; NP/A4/1542/7, Mary Winn to Mrs Williamson, 30 August [1798]. The writer presumed it was because of gout, though there may have been other causes, since Sabine's mother died from dropsy, coming on top of arthritis (see A1/5A/11/8, Letters and papers at the time of the death of Jeanne-Esther d'Herwart). In February 1798 Sabine had a fever, but did not take the remedy prescribed for her, Dr James' powders: NP/A1/6/10, letter from Thomas Oxley M.D., Pontefract, 21 February 1798.

¹¹⁸ WYAS, NP/A4/1545/1, Shepley Watson to Mrs Williamson, 17 September 1798; see also *LI*, 24 September, 1798. She was buried in the Winn family vault in Wragby church on 24 September 1798: *The Parish Register of Wragby in the County of York*, Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1939, vol. II (1704–1812), p. 278; NP/A4/1542/4, Mary Winn to Mrs Williamson, 1 October [1798].

¹¹⁹ In WYAS, NP/A4/1556/5, letter to Mrs Williamson, Morton, 13 June 1801, Esther Williamson gives a harrowing description of the death of first husband from consumption on 22 May 1800. To confuse matters, her second husband was also called John Williamson. She married him in July 1801 (NP/A4/1557/20, Mrs Williamson to John Tidd, 25 July 1802), and they separated in August 1802 (NP/A4/1557/5, Mr Field's bill to William Barnard as trustee for Mrs Williamson, August 1802). She died on 6 December 1803 (NP/C6/12/3: Copy of Declaration of 1 February 1844, by Timothy Farrer of Wragby). John Williamson was christened at St John's Church, Manchester, on 15 May 1794 and Charles Williamson at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on 12 July 1795 (WYAS, NP/C6/12/1, Pedigree of the Winn Family, 1844). Louisa Williamson was born on 23 June 1799 (see NP/A1/7/3, Shepley Watson's account book, p. 22). Another girl died as a baby in 1798 (see NP/A4/1542/4, Mary Winn to Mrs Williamson, Scarborough, 1 October [1798]). John Williamson inherited the estate on the death of sixth Baronet who died unmarried on 13 October 1805 (see *LI*, 21 and 28 October 1805). He himself died from consumption in Rome in 1817 (see NP/A1/7/1, Personal papers of John Winn) and the estate then passed to Charles who was to refurbish Nostell extensively up to the time of his death in 1874. Louisa died, unmarried, at Bath in April 1861 (NP/A1/8/5, letters from relations and friends). John Williamson adopted the surname of Winn under Royal Licence and Authority dated 25 February 1815, while Charles and Louisa Williamson's change of name took place on the 17 February 1818 and was published in the *Gazette* (see NP/A1/7/3, Shepley Watson's account book, pp. 18, 20).

¹²⁰ In 'A cultivated eye for the antique: Charles Winn and the enrichment of Nostell Priory in the nineteenth century', *Apollo*, 157 (April 2003), pp. 3–8, Sophie Raikes has shown clearly just how much present-day Nostell owes to its main nineteenth-century owner, but many of the interior furnishings and designs remain the work of those employed by the fifth Baronet and his wife – Thomas Chippendale and Robert Adam: see Christopher Gilbert, 'Chippendale's patrons in Yorkshire', *Magazine Antiques*, 137 (January 1990) pp. 308–23, and 'New light on the furnishing of Nostell Priory', *Furniture History*, 26 (1990) pp. 53–66; Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam. His interiors* (New Haven and London, 2001), pp. 196–211.

most of them were – to say the least – never very close.¹²¹ By becoming a recluse following her husband's death, she was even judged by some as undermining the networking that was clearly seen as part of her duties. The family lawyer, Fairfax Fearnely, wrote to her:

It is a very great pity that your Ladyship who ought to be the companion of kings & princes of the earth, should not even suffer the sun to smile at you, or the wind to blow upon you, but prefer the solitude of the pelican to the pleasure of public life.¹²²

Her sister-in-law, the ever sharp-tongued Mary Winn, 'knowing too well' Sabine's 'hatred to ... all the family', accused her of thus stopping her son from 'cultivating an acquaintance and friendship with the near relations and friends of [his] late father' and from acquiring 'proper connections in life'. She wrote to Sabine's estranged daughter: 'Believe me you have never been forgot by any of those who were not allowed to approach the House at Nostell, & I may say they felt much more for your situation than those who were more nearly connected'.¹²³

Sabine seems to have been particularly badly prepared for widowhood, even though she did try to keep up with fashion, and practised charity, being given the title of 'benevolent' in the local press.¹²⁴ Without her husband, she felt lost. Although it is true that one should never underestimate the domestic power of women, and that in the eighteenth century 'many married aristocratic women gained extraordinary freedom, socially and financially', this was not always the case and in the eyes of many Europeans, Englishmen more than most tended to reduce their wives to a state in which they 'lost all sense of individuality', entirely justifying Mary Wollstonecraft's famous view of many wives as 'passive indolent women'.¹²⁵ Modern historians are undoubtedly right to question the entire validity of such widespread judgements,¹²⁶ but Sabine Winn can hardly be quoted as an example of independent dynamism. In her habit of sending her husband on endless errands during his many trips to London, one may detect some compensation for the emptiness of her own existence in Nostell. As she wrote in a typical letter to him in September 1769, while impatiently waiting for his return: 'Je n'aime vivre que pour toi, et je suis néanmoins toujours sans toi' [I

¹²¹ WYAS, NP/A4/1509/7, letter from fourth Baronet to his son, Rowland, June 1759. This problem with her Winn relations was obviously not entirely Sabine's fault, or at least not hers alone: see NP/A1/5/5, Mary Winn, Bath, to her brother, Rowland Winn, 13 June 1774: 'You say we are a set of people who calls ourselves your relations, who are always pestering you for money. I can answer for myself, that I never either demanded or received from you anything but what was my due, and don't look on that as an indulgence, *as you term it*, and as we are the offspring of the same parents, it will not be a very easy matter to shake off the relationship however desirous you may be of it, and am sure no one action of my life has ever been such that any relation I have, need wish to disown me, and can't accuse myself of ever distressing you in any respect, so you do me injustice to lay it to my charge'.

¹²² WYAS, NP/A4/1594/29, Fairfax Fearnely to Lady Winn, [n.d.].

¹²³ WYAS, NP/A4/1542/6, Mary Winn to Esther Williamson, 3 December [1797]; NP/A1/6/13, Mary Winn to the sixth Baronet, 9 May 1791; NP/A4/1542/2, Mary Winn to Esther Williamson, 3 May 1797.

¹²⁴ WYAS, NP/A4/5A/8, Letters to Lady Winn from various people on matters of personal business; *LI*, 10 August 1790.

¹²⁵ Baird, *Mistress of the House*, p. 254; Malcolm Letts, *As the foreigner saw us* (London, 1935), p. 156; Mary Wollstonecraft, 'A Vindication of the rights of women', in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (London, 1989), V, p. 103.

¹²⁶ See, for instance, Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp 2–4 and her criticism of Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage 1500–1800* (London, 1977), p. 396.

want to live only for you, and yet I am always without you].¹²⁷ The emblematic painting by Hugh Douglas Hamilton which features on the front of the present National Trust guide to Nostell shows Sir Roland Winn and Sabine in a much-expanded version of their library, surveying his surroundings with obvious satisfaction. With one hand he props up a framed drawing of the head of Venus and with the other he holds his wife. Sabine looks more demure as she negligently dangles a book between the forefinger and thumb of one hand, while resting her other hand upon her husband's shoulder, as if for support.¹²⁸ For all her wealth and power, without her husband the Swiss milady remained vulnerable and insecure in a foreign land.

¹²⁷. WYAS, NP/A4/1530/38, Sabine Winn to Rowland Winn, 5 September 1769.

¹²⁸. For a commentary on the painting in relation to property and possessions, see Vicky Coltman, 'Status, Stasis and Statue: The Nostell Priory conversation piece(s)', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 3 (2002), 37–52. For the identification of the artist, see Alastair Laing, *Apollo*, 151 (April 2000), pp. 14–18.

THE SHEFFIELD COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC WORK, 1790-1914

By John Roach

This article is a study of formative figures in the industrial, professional and community life of Sheffield and its region, and of their contributions to creating a more civilised life for the people. It concentrates on a small number of groups: the medical profession in its social aspects; some friendship connections and their social and political objectives; and the long campaign to create the University, chartered in 1905. Special attention is given to the close networks within which Sheffield life was structured. With a few exceptions, groups of this kind have not previously been much studied by historians.

Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin, one of the principal founders of the University of Sheffield, was born in 1821. When he was interviewed by the press on the occasion of his diamond wedding in 1905, he said: 'The progress of Sheffield in my lifetime has been something wonderful. Why, in my young days, it was a little bit of a place of no consequence and no trade'.¹ The years of the Napoleonic war and its aftermath had been a troubled time for the town, as they had been for most of the industrial and manufacturing districts of England. Local opinion was generally radical. In 1791 there was an attack on Broom Hall, the home of the vicar, James Wilkinson, who was a magistrate; the ringleader was later executed at York.² Conditions for working people were severe during the war years, and considerable efforts were made to relieve their distress. During the same period the control of the Cutlers' Company over the town's basic industry came to an end. In 1814 the trade was made entirely free. The company, which had been powerful for so long, seemed to have no future and for some years fell into a state of practical inanition.³

Perhaps the break-up of traditional patterns in industry and politics made it easy for a new leadership to emerge; certainly that is what happened. In the troubled years at the end of the eighteenth century new leaders appeared in most areas of local life. They include doctors, journalists, philanthropists and Churchmen as well as industrialists. They made, in the period up to 1914, a major contribution to the public life of Sheffield.

The emergence of such local groups is an important feature of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century urban life which has not been much studied by historians, though a few are certainly remembered. The Lunar Society, founded in 1766, was made up of industrialists and scientists in Birmingham and the West Midlands; it included Boulton, Watt, Erasmus Darwin and Joseph Priestley. The Anti-Corn Law

¹ H. Keeble Hawson, *Sheffield. The Growth of a City 1893-1926* (Sheffield, 1968), p. 328.

² R. E. Leader, *Reminiscences of old Sheffield, its streets and its people*, 2nd edn (Sheffield, 1876), p. 65.

³ *A History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire*, ed. Clyde Binfield and David Hey (Oxford, 1997), p. 38.

League, which became a major political force, grew out of an anti-corn law association founded by a group of seven business men in Manchester in 1838. Dr Kitson Clark studied what he called the 'Leeds élite' in that other great Yorkshire town which was in some ways similar to, but in other ways very different from, Sheffield. His emphasis was particularly on social problems and public health, but many of the same themes emerge as in the Sheffield story. In both towns the medical men were pioneers of social improvement, Unitarianism was an important force, and there was a strong interest in education and self-improvement which produced both the Yorkshire College of Science (1874) and Firth College (1879-80), the precursors of the universities of Leeds and Sheffield. The élite in Leeds, Kitson Clark argued, 'did what no one else was likely to do. They represented what no one else was likely to represent'.⁴ Much the same is true of Sheffield.

In comparison, however, with the few such bodies that have been studied, there are many in other towns that have been largely forgotten. They were active in education, health and hospital care and in good works of many kinds. They created a large part of the social structures which made the industrial town a more agreeable and civilised place for all its people. They made a major impact in Sheffield as they did in other places, but the Sheffield experience has certain distinctive characteristics which it will be the purpose of this article to work out.

Sheffield was not unique in being dominated by a single industry. What made it unusual was the remarkably close network of relationships between those who controlled its public life. The dominance of cutlery and, later, of the heavy steel industries meant that most of the men of means moved within a very small circle. These industrial connections were criss-crossed by the churches, with Unitarians, Congregationalists and Methodists prominent, and by traditional corporate bodies like the Town Trust, the Church Burgesses and the Cutlers' Company. This venerable trio went back long before the days of major industrialization, but its members displayed great vitality in adapting to the changes of a new age. Sheffield was not an old corporate town, and elected local government came only after the charter of 1843. Later in the century the town council became another player alongside industry, the old corporate bodies, the churches and the professions - in particular the doctors - in creating the social fabric of the modern city. A few examples will reinforce the point about the closeness of these relationships. Thomas Jessop (1802-87) was a steel magnate, a member of the Unitarian Upper Chapel, Master Cutler and twice Mayor.⁵ He paid for a new building for the women's hospital, always thereafter known to Sheffielders as 'Jessop's'. Mark Firth (1819-80) was one of the most prominent of the new steel men. He was both Mayor and Master Cutler, a strong Methodist whose family helped to establish a theological college at Ranmoor. He founded almshouses, gave the town a public park and became one of the chief founders of the University.

Of the old corporate bodies already mentioned, the Town Trustees and the Church Burgesses were the heirs of the medieval town's estate, divided at the Reformation into broadly secular and broadly religious purposes. Both of them had substantial land holdings which steadily increased in value with the growth of the city. In 1897, the report on endowed charities recorded annual subscriptions

⁴ G. Kitson Clark, 'The Leeds Élite', *The University of Leeds Review*, 17:2 (1974), p. 256.

⁵ For the importance of Upper Chapel, see Clyde Binfield, 'Religion in Sheffield', in Clyde Binfield and others, *The History of the City of Sheffield 1843-1993*, vol. II, *Society* [henceforth *HCS II*] (Sheffield, 1993), pp. 393-4.

from the Town Trust to city charities of about £500. Gratuities and grants made between 1884 and 1895 totalled £17,864.⁶ The Church Burgesses trust, set up by letters patent of 1554, was originally established to pay the assistant clergy and to maintain the fabric of the parish church. A new scheme of 1854 provided that five-sevenths of the net income should be devoted to ecclesiastical purposes and two-sevenths to secular - very largely education and hospitals. In 1894 the grants to 'secular' objects amounted to about £1,100.⁷ The third body, the Cutlers' Company, set up in 1624 to control the Sheffield trades, went into a serious decline, as we have seen, after the ending of its monopoly powers in 1814. But, as the century went on, it re-invented itself with the development of the heavy steel industry, and it continues in the twenty-first century to play an important role in the promotion of Sheffield industry and its products.

These three bodies, co-optative in their membership, certainly became less important as democratic local government developed, but they have not become, like similar bodies in other places, mere relics of their past. Two things are noteworthy about all of them. Firstly, they have shown an ability to change to meet new needs. Secondly, they interlock with one another and with local industry and business to form a close system of relationships. A typical local figure may well have been a member of the Cutlers' Company, a Town Trustee and, if he were a Churchman, a Church Burgess as well. The links spread out to the various churches, with Nonconformity prominent.⁸ Similar secular links resulted in the creation of the University of Sheffield between 1880 and 1910, and they were not absent from the formation of the Polytechnic and Hallam University after 1969.

The first major charity created and planned in Sheffield through the efforts of an extended group of local supporters was the General Infirmary, opened in 1797 and strongly supported by the vicar, James Wilkinson, who was the last representative of one of the old leading families, the Jessops of Broom Hall.⁹ Wilkinson, who held the living from 1754 to 1805, was a leading figure in the town for half a century. His bust, carved by the young Francis Chantrey from Norton, is in the chancel of the parish church (the present cathedral). Hospitals had been founded in many English towns during the eighteenth century, and Sheffield was comparatively late in joining the movement. The initiative came from Dr William Younge who was to be for many years physician to the new institution. A meeting, chaired by the vicar, was held in April 1792 to consider the proposal. At first proceedings went slowly, until a donation of £1,000 from Mrs Fell, widow of the younger John Fell of Attercliffe Forge, was announced. Thereafter money came in quickly and about £15,000 was collected. One of the main workers for the new hospital was Dr John Browne, who acted as chairman of the weekly board until his death in 1810. Another was Dr Robert Ernest, who remained in post until he died in 1841. His tombstone, which has been removed to the grounds of the modern Royal Hallamshire Hospital,

⁶ *Endowed Charities (City of Sheffield) Return* [henceforth *ECR*] (Charity Commission, 1897), pp. 95, 96-7.

⁷ *ECR* 1897, pp. 108-10, 122-3; George Tolley, *We, of our Bounty. A History of the Sheffield Church Burgesses* (Crook Town, Durham, 1999).

⁸ For the strength of the Dissenting tradition in Sheffield, see Binfield, 'Religion in Sheffield', *HCS* II, pp. 390-91.

⁹ For the foundation of the Infirmary see Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire. The History and Topography of the parish of Sheffield in the county of York*, ed. A. Gatty (London, 1869), pp. 323-26; J. D. Leader and Simeon Snell, *Sheffield General Infirmary. A brief sketch of a century's work* (Sheffield, 1897).

records:

Dr Ernest was the first house surgeon of the Sheffield General Infirmary & he served that Noble Charity for nearly forty four years.

... Upwards of eighty eight thousand patients passed under the care of Dr Ernest besides forty eight thousand Children whom he vaccinated

To attempt any detailed account of the medical profession in nineteenth-century Sheffield would be to pass far beyond the confines of this article. The profession was dynastic, in families like the Favells, the Jacksons and the Overends. It created and maintained through difficult times the Medical Institution, founded in 1829, which was later to form one of the constituent parts of the University. Two of its professional leaders of the early nineteenth century, whose careers brought together many of the strands of thought and influence to be studied here, were Sir Arnold Knight and George Calvert Holland.¹⁰ Knight, who came to Sheffield in 1812 and left it in 1843, was an authority on that terrible local disease, grinders' asthma, and one of the chief promoters of the medical school and of the Public Dispensary (later the Royal Hospital) in West Street. He was the first president of the Literary and Philosophical Society and a founder of the Mechanics' Institute. A. W. Chapman, the historian of the University, says that 'he appears to have been a man of great influence and sound and moderate views, who did his best to promote unity and agreement when others indulged in bitter controversy'.¹¹ He was, unusually for his time and place, a Roman Catholic.

Holland was a native Sheffielder, the son of a barber. He studied in Edinburgh and Paris and wrote on medical subjects, but he deserves to be remembered principally for his remarkable book, *The Vital Statistics of Sheffield*, published in 1843. The book, which was partly financed by the Town Trustees and is dedicated to them, is a sociological study of the town on lines similar to the work of the great sanitary reformer Edwin Chadwick. Holland examined the growth of population, the conditions of housing, the health and longevity of the people, the manufactures of the place and its educational and charitable institutions. The *Vital Statistics* ranks high among the works of the time in which medical men tried to apply their professional skills to the practical issues of life in the urban communities in which they lived.

This crossover between medicine and the life of the district can also be seen in the story of the foundation of the Jessop Hospital for Women.¹² Mrs Margaret Gatty, herself a well-known writer of children's stories,¹³ was the wife of Alfred Gatty, vicar of Ecclesfield and editor of Hunter's *History of Hallamshire*. She had a large family and was anxious to obtain for the village a medical practitioner who would be able to use the then revolutionary treatment of chloroform in childbirth. Through contacts in Edinburgh, Dr J. H. Aveling was brought to Ecclesfield, and he assisted at Mrs Gatty's tenth and last confinement in 1855. Later, Aveling moved into Sheffield, and in 1864 he and Dr Edward Jackson of the local medical family

¹⁰ W. Odom, *Hallamshire Worthies. Characteristics and Work of notable Sheffield Men and Women* (Sheffield, 1926), pp. 121-23, 125-26; Harold Swan, 'Medical Education', *HCS* II, pp. 134-35.

¹¹ A. W. Chapman, *The Story of a Modern University. A History of the University of Sheffield* (Oxford, 1955), p. 104.

¹² For the following, see Helen Mathers and Tania McIntosh, *Born in Sheffield. A History of the Women's Health Services 1864-2000* (Barnsley, 2000), ch. 1, *passim*.

¹³ *Parables from Nature* (1855-71) (London, n.d.) [There are many editions].

already mentioned founded the Sheffield Hospital for Women.¹⁴ In the 1870s the new venture was provided with a new building, paid for by a gift of £28,000 from the steel magnate, Thomas Jessop, who served as both Mayor and Master Cutler. The link-up between industrial wealth, local office-holding, medical initiatives and informed lay pressure for better services is significant.

This brief account of Sheffield medical men illustrates something of the influence of such groups on regional life. After 1900 medicine became more 'scientific' and doctors more 'expert', more focused on the laboratory and the hospital ward. These changes were inevitable and in themselves good, but as they took effect the medical men participated less and less in the general life of the community because they had such demanding professional concerns to engage their attention.

The doctors were only one of the groups to influence the life of the town between 1800 and 1914. Sheffield has always been a manufacturing town. It has never like Leeds been an important commercial centre. Consequently the industrialists were prominent in every circle - political, economic, religious, philanthropic - not least because they controlled the money and were in a position to give generously to causes in which they were interested. However, they did not stand on their own, dealing as a solid phalanx with other groups outside the industrial fold. Their own interests, especially in politics and religion, divided them from one another and brought them into co-operation with those who, outside the industrial orbit, were interested in the same causes. In this way circles were formed which cut across business and professional lines and brought together men from different backgrounds. Moreover, men did not necessarily remain in business all their lives. They, or more commonly their descendants, used acquired wealth to support other interests. Sheffield has produced some distinguished men from industrial families who have used their money in ways far removed from the routines of the workshop or the factory floor.

A few of these groups or circles have been chosen for more detailed study. In the first half of the nineteenth century two key figures were the journalist and poet, James Montgomery, and the diarist, Thomas Asline Ward. A new age began with the coming of heavy industry after about 1850. For the later period we shall examine first, the Liberal-Radical network revealed in the papers of H. J. Wilson of the Sheffield Smelting Company and, secondly, the people - mostly, though not exclusively, industrialists - who created first the University College and then the University of Sheffield, chartered in 1905. The foundation of the University was a major community effort, based not on the largesse of a major benefactor, but on the gifts of a number of people over a generation.

It is easy to get a picture of Asline Ward and Montgomery and their friends because a great deal of information about them has survived. Ward's diary is in the Sheffield archives and a printed version of the diary and letters was published in 1909. Montgomery's friends, John Holland and James Everett, wrote an enormous biography of him in seven volumes.¹⁵ Ward was born in 1781, son of Joseph Ward,

¹⁴ J. H. Aveling remained in Sheffield only until 1868, when he moved to London: Mathers and McIntosh, *Born in Sheffield*, p. 24.

¹⁵ For Ward's diary and papers see S[heffield] A[rchives] SLPS 119-90. I have used the printed version, edited by Alexander B. Bell, *Peeps into the Past being passages from the diary of Thomas Asline Ward* (London and Sheffield, 1909). For Montgomery see John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of James Montgomery*, 7 vols (London, 1854-56). Permission for the use of material in the Sheffield Archives has been given by the Director of Leisure Services and Head of Libraries, City of Sheffield.

merchant, and he lived to the age of ninety, dying in 1871.¹⁶ He played an active part in the life of the town up to the 1830s. During the Napoleonic war he was an officer in the volunteers. He was sent to London on several occasions on public business, for example in 1818 about the Cutlery Bill. He took his share in important public offices. He was Master Cutler in 1816 and became an overseer of the poor in the same year. In 1817 he became a Town Trustee and was Town Collector or chairman of that body from 1828 to 1847. He was a supporter of parliamentary reform and he stood unsuccessfully in the first Sheffield parliamentary election of 1832. He was chairman of the cholera committee in the epidemic of the same year. He did not stand again for Parliament in 1835, and by that time had withdrawn from public life.

His other interests, outside politics and public life, were wide-ranging. He made strong and enduring friendships. As a young man he got to know the sculptor, Francis Chantrey, and the historian and Unitarian minister, Joseph Hunter. Both of them moved away from Sheffield, but they retained strong links with it and were buried nearby, Hunter at Ecclesfield and Chantrey at Norton. Ward's ties with Hunter, author of the *History of Hallamshire* (1819) and of *South Yorkshire, The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster* (2 vols, 1828-31), were particularly close. They corresponded for many years. They went on holiday together. The close links with Chantrey also endured after the sculptor had left the town. In 1829, Ward records, he was dining with Chantrey in London:

Turning to me he said: 'Ward, this is better than painting portraits at Todd's' [his lodgings in Sheffield], and again, 'Ward, this is very different from riding down from Norton to Sheffield' - I do not remember the exact words - 'but I think of those times with pleasure'.¹⁷

Ward's charities were typical of his time. He was much concerned about the condition of the poor, particularly during the harsh years of the war. He supported bodies like the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and the Female Benefit Society. He often in his papers mentioned chimney sweeps and the suffering of climbing boys, and he took part in the national movement against slavery. He was on the committee that helped found the Lancasterian school in 1809, and he collected money for it. He was interested in books and libraries, a member of the Sheffield Library and of a book club. He wanted to extend such advantages to working people. In later life he recalled with pleasure that he had been one of the promoters of the Mechanics' Library, opened in 1824, and in 1856 he welcomed the opening of the new free library.

Like other provincial towns, Sheffield participated in the movement to found societies for promoting intellectual discussion and the spread of knowledge. Ward was active in the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society, founded in 1822, and in its short-lived predecessor, the Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge of 1804, which survived for a couple of years only. Ward recorded in his accounts for November 1804 that he had paid five shillings for admission, and he mentioned several of the topics: the influence of climate, Galvanism (the production of energy by means of a voltaic battery), quicksilver, the comparative importance of ancient and modern science, and a paper he

¹⁶ Leader, *Reminiscences of old Sheffield*, pp. 340-42.

¹⁷ *Peeps into the Past*, p. 293. The tradition is that Chantrey, as a boy, rode down from Norton into Sheffield with milk for sale.

himself gave on the advantages of agriculture. He was later a vice-president of the Literary and Philosophical Society along with Montgomery, Thomas Cotterill, vicar of St Paul's, and Samuel Bailey, economist and writer on money. In 1824 Ward read a paper to the new society on the condition of the lower classes in Europe with reference to pauperism, and the following year he wrote to Hunter:

You will be pleased to find that our Philosophical Society and Mechanics' Library proceed so well. The latter has an income of £100 per annum and more already than 1,000 volumes. Mr. Piper's lecture on the peculiarities of our dialect was very amusing and has attracted much notice.¹⁸

In religious matters Ward and Montgomery moved in opposite directions. Montgomery, after a period of religious doubt as a young man, took up an Evangelical Christian position. Ward, on the other hand, after an Anglican upbringing became a Unitarian and a member of Upper Chapel. Many of his friends were Unitarians and his wife Anne Lewin belonged to a London Unitarian family. He wrote to her at the time of their engagement:

I seriously think Unitarianism a more Christian doctrine than Trinitarianism, and the principles generally adopted by the professors of the former seem to me more manly, more dignified and more consistent than the principles of those who adopt the latter belief.¹⁹

On 2 December 1805 Ward recorded that he had had supper at Chantrey's lodgings, with James Montgomery:

The latter is The Editor of the *Iris*, and has been twice imprisoned in York Castle for imprudent expressions of his politics. Some people have thought that he deserved it a third time for some scurrilities against Ministers in a late paper. He is, however, a well-informed man, a good poet, and, in Mr Carey's opinion, a most excellent poet.²⁰

James Montgomery, who was ten years Ward's senior, was a Scot, born at Irvine in Ayrshire, the son of a Moravian minister.²¹ His parents went to do missionary work in the West Indies, and both died there. The young James was sent to the Moravian school at Fulneck, between Leeds and Bradford, in 1777. In 1792, when he was twenty-one, he came to Sheffield to work for Joseph Gales, printer and publisher of the *Sheffield Register*.

Gales and his paper advocated popular rights and parliamentary reform and, as the tide of political reaction rose in 1793-94, they came more and more into conflict with the authorities. After a reform meeting on Castle Hill in Sheffield in April 1794, Montgomery and some of Gales's other printers were summoned before Vicar Wilkinson in his capacity as a magistrate, and examined as to what had been said. Soon afterwards Gales left Sheffield for the United States, and Montgomery, with the financial support of Benjamin Naylor – preacher at Upper Chapel and sleeping partner in a silver-plating firm – took over the printing establishment: in 1795 the *Register* was replaced by the *Sheffield Iris*, with a more

¹⁸ *Peeps into the Past*, pp. 280, 283. H. H. Piper was a Unitarian, minister of Norton chapel, and he ran a school.

¹⁹ *Peeps into the Past*, p. 175 (2 October 1811).

²⁰ *Peeps into the Past*, p. 91.

²¹ The following account comes almost entirely from Holland and Everett, *Memoirs of James Montgomery*. Specific references are given only for a few important points.

moderate political programme. Montgomery controlled the *Iris* until 1825 when he sold it and retired from business.

In the early years of his editorship his Radical reputation still caused him a great deal of trouble, as Ward's letter of December 1805 suggests. Perhaps as a result of the two spells in York Castle, in later years Montgomery withdrew from political debate. He took no part in the movement for parliamentary reform, and his reaction to Chartism was one of horror - he called it 'a scheme of murder, conflagration and pillage'.²²

The energies diverted from politics found many other channels of expression. As a poet he made a considerable reputation, especially among religious people.²³ He corresponded with both Wordsworth and Southey, and in his later years lectured in many places on literature and the poets. Through both his poetry and his lectures Montgomery held a position of some note on the national scene. At home he was actively concerned with the same good works as T. A. Ward. This extract from a letter of 19 May 1816 to his brother Ignatius is typical:

At this time of year I am full of employment with Bible, Missionary Tract & Sunday School Societies which seem rather to belong to a minister of the Gospel than a printer & a poet: my tongue and my pen have continual engagements to meet.²⁴

Montgomery had, as we have seen, been educated by the Moravians at Fulneck, but as a young man he had turned away from orthodox Christianity and he did not return to it until about 1810. He was formally re-admitted to the Moravian Church at Fulneck in December 1814,²⁵ but there was no Sheffield congregation of that Church with which he could worship. He seems to have attached himself chiefly to the Methodists, though he maintained links with many churches. In his later years he went to Anglican churches from time to time and took the sacrament there.²⁶ His funeral at the General Cemetery in 1854 was conducted by Vicar Sale and the cemetery chaplain, the Rev. G. Sandford, and members of all the Protestant churches took part in the procession.

For more than a generation Montgomery had played a central part in the civic and religious life of Sheffield. His strong spiritual sense led him to an active concern with practical projects of improvement. E. D. Mackerness wrote that for him 'no aspect of the common weal - whether it had to do with local government, Sabbath education or relief for the indigent was too insignificant'.²⁷ In another recent study, Alison Twells has particularly stressed his religious concerns and his interest in missionary work to which a great deal of attention was given in the columns of the *Iris*. The missionary societies offered a platform where religious people of different denominations could co-operate. To Montgomery and his friends the civilizing mission of Christianity operated both in the mission field

²² *Memoirs*, V, p. 384 (24 January 1840).

²³ There is a modern edition of many of his poems - *The Poems of James Montgomery (1771-1854)*, with a critical introduction by George Wiley (Sheffield, 2000).

²⁴ *Memoirs*, III, p. 92.

²⁵ *Memoirs*, III, pp. 49-53.

²⁶ *Memoirs*, VI, p. 91 (Christmas Day, 1841).

²⁷ E. D. Mackerness, 'Sheffield's Cultural Life', *HCS* II, p. 430.

overseas and in charitable work for the poor at home.²⁸

Montgomery was much involved with the town's public institutions. He was chairman of the weekly Board of Governors of the General Infirmary for fifteen years. He was a leading spirit in the creation of the Sheffield Savings Bank and was its chairman from 1824 to 1854. He supported the formation in 1824 of the Mechanics' Library of which he became president. He gave the first lecture to the Literary and Philosophical Society on the progress of literature to the end of the thirteenth century and later became president. There is no space here to consider in detail the later history of the society, which survived until 1932.²⁹ It had a useful life and at the end of the nineteenth century one really distinguished president in the scientist, H. C. Sorby, but it never really achieved the hopes of its founders to provide a central forum for literary and scientific thought in the town. G. C. Holland, writing twenty years after its foundation, attributed this comparative failure to lack of interest on the part of merchants and manufacturers and to the effects of religious controversy.³⁰ It was certainly no easy task to build up steady support for such a venture in a nineteenth-century industrial town. The School of Art, founded in 1843 to promote industrial design, similarly had a hard fight to establish itself.³¹

Montgomery never married. His closest personal circle was the group called the 'four friends', who for about a quarter of a century met monthly in one another's houses 'for the purpose of devising and promoting objects of benevolence'.³² A silhouette of the four men forms the frontispiece to volume II of Montgomery's *Memoirs*. He is sparely built and of medium height, about as tall as the plumper and more robust-looking Rowland Hodgson. The other two are bigger: George Bennet large and full-bodied, Samuel Roberts tall and lean. Hodgson, who died in 1837, was especially close to Montgomery. He was a man of good local connections; his father had been rector of Rawmarsh and his mother was a Parker of Woodthorpe. He took a very keen interest in education and in the Church Missionary Society.³³

George Bennet was a Congregationalist of Queen Street. His grandparents had been among the early followers of John Wesley in Sheffield. He was deeply interested in Sunday schools and was the originator in 1812 of the Sheffield Sunday School Union.³⁴ In 1820-21 he was asked by the London Missionary Society to go with the Rev. Daniel Tyerman on a voyage to visit the Society's missions in the South Seas. They left in May 1821 on an extraordinary journey that took them round the world. Bennet returned in 1829 after an absence of

²⁸ Alison A. Twells, 'The Heathen at Home and Overseas: The Middle Class and the Civilising Mission, Sheffield 1790-1843', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, 1997), pp. 212, 240, 248 (thesis quoted with permission of Dr Twells).

²⁹ See W. S. Porter, *Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society. A Centenary Retrospect 1822-1922* (Sheffield, 1922). For the story of the final ten years, when the Society simply died for lack of support, see SA: SLPS 197, Minutes of Council Meetings 1912 to 1934.

³⁰ Holland, *Vital Statistics*, pp. 239-46. Mackerness, 'Sheffield's Cultural Life', *HCS* II, pp. 431-32, gives a much more favourable verdict on the Society's work.

³¹ See E. D. Mackerness, 'The early history of the Sheffield School of Art', *Essays in the economic and social history of South Yorkshire*, ed. S. Pollard and C. Holmes, (Sheffield, 1976), pp. 247-61; and his article 'Sheffield's Cultural Life', *HCS* II, pp. 444-45.

³² Holland and Everett, *Memoirs*, III, p. 108.

³³ *Ibid.*, V, pp. 218-21; Odom, *Hallamshire Worthies*, pp. 87-88; R. E. Leader, *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century* (Sheffield, 1901), p. 79, note.

³⁴ For the Sheffield Sunday School Union, see Binfield, 'Religion in Sheffield', *HCS* II, pp. 415-16.

eight years; Tyerman had died in Madagascar on their way home from the east. In 1831 Montgomery edited the two-volume *Voyages and Travels around the World*, based on the writings of Bennet and Tyerman. Bennet also wrote more personal letters to his friends and supporters in Sheffield, and his collections were added to the museum of the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society. After 1829 Bennet lived at Hackney in East London, though his tomb is in the General Cemetery in Sheffield. He died in 1841.³⁵

The fourth of the friends, Samuel Roberts (1753-1848), deserves a fuller treatment than there is space for here. The family had been long established in Ecclesfield and Sheffield.³⁶ His father had been one of the pioneers of the silver plate industry, and he himself became the leading silver plater of his generation. He was the only one of the 'four friends' to have been a prominent business man, though in his later years he devoted himself to good causes of many kinds. He was an active pamphleteer and a keen controversialist.

The range of his concerns was unusual as well as wide. He, and his family after him, had a strong hereditary interest in the boys' charity school. In his Sheffield story, *Tom and Charles or the Two Grinders* (1823), Tom, the bad apprentice, speaks to the virtuous Charles about their schooldays:

I could never rid myself entirely of those religious impressions which I received, as it were, in spite of myself, at the blessed asylum of the destitute, to which you have been such an ornament and efficient benefactor.³⁷

Roberts wrote against slavery and against the abuses suffered by climbing boys. He opposed the state lottery, and he wanted to abolish the death penalty and to replace it by solitary confinement. In his old age he attacked English policy towards Ireland. He criticised the non-resident landlords and the alien Church, and he wanted Ireland to become free and independent. He was a keen opponent of the new Poor Law of 1834, which, he claimed in his last letter to the press written just before his death, 'was intended to extirpate the pauper poor of England and would eventually produce a revolution'.³⁸

More unusual concerns for a Sheffield manufacturer of his day were revealed in the book, *The Royal Exile* (1822), which he wrote with his daughter Mary to vindicate Mary Queen of Scots, and in his long-standing interest in the origins and treatment of the gypsies, who were, he thought, descendants of the ancient Egyptians scattered by God as a punishment for their sins.³⁹ He was probably the first Sheffield manufacturer to build himself a fine - and then semi-rural - residence, Queen's Tower (1834-37), which still exists.

Some of Roberts's wealth went into his new house. Other wealthy men and women gave generously to church building. The Misses Eliza and Anne Harrison of Western House, daughters of a saw manufacturer in Hollis Croft,

³⁵ Leader, *Reminiscences of old Sheffield*, pp. 300-10 (a memoir written by Montgomery); Twells, 'The Heathen at Home and Overseas', pp. 212, 240, 248; there is a recent account of Bennet and Tyerman's journey in Tom Hiney, *On the Missionary Trail. The classic Georgian adventure of two Englishmen sent on a journey round the world 1821-29* (London, 2000).

³⁶ See *Some Memorials of the family of Roberts of Queen's Tower Sheffield and Cockley Cley Swaffham Norfolk* (Sheffield, 1971).

³⁷ Samuel Roberts, *Tom and Charles or the two Grinders* (Sheffield, n.d.), p. 33 (Sheffield Local Studies Library, Local Pamphlets vol. 110:7). For the school see John Roach, 'The Sheffield Boys and Girls Charity Schools 1706-1962', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 31 (1999), pp. 114-29.

³⁸ Samuel Roberts, *Autobiography and Select Remains* (London, 1849), p. 237.

³⁹ Colin Holmes, 'Samuel Roberts and the Gypsies', in *Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire*, pp. 233-46.

built Wadsley Church and Holy Trinity, Wicker and made other similar benefactions.⁴⁰ The Wilson family of Westbrook (the 'snuff' Wilsons to be differentiated from the 'smelting' Wilsons whom we shall meet later) were related to the Harrisons, and were also liberal donors to churches.⁴¹ Henry Wilson presented one turn of the advowson of the parish church to the Simeon Trustees, and his son, Alfred, gave the second turn to the Church Burgesses. This somewhat odd arrangement still exists. Sir John Brown, one of the most prominent of the steel men, built All Saints, Brightside for his workmen,⁴² and at the other end of the town - both geographically and socially - the brewer, John Newton Mappin, built St John the Evangelist, Ranmoor, opened in 1879.⁴³

The deaths of Samuel Roberts (1848) and of James Montgomery (1854) coincided with the coming of heavy industry and the major changes that accompanied it.⁴⁴ Not all the new industrial leaders played an active part in local life, but many did, and they quickly became influential in traditional power groups like the Town Trust and the Cutlers' Company. They also played an active role on the new town council, set up by the charter of 1843. John Brown (1861, 1862), Thomas Jessop (1863, 1864) and Mark Firth (1874) all served as Mayor, and John Brown was the first chairman of the School Board and chairman of the Board of Guardians. Their religious allegiances were divided. Brown was a Churchman and a Church Burgess. F. T. Mappin became a Churchman after the Congregationalism of Queen Street. The Firths belonged to the Methodist New Connexion, and, of the other steel families, the Osborns and the Wards were Methodists as well.⁴⁵ Thomas Jessop belonged to Upper Chapel.

The atmosphere of the era of Firth and Brown was very different from that of Asline Ward and Samuel Roberts, for the tempo of life was much faster. Once again attention will be concentrated on just a few groups. The first of these was centred on the Wilson family of the Sheffield Smelting Company - or, for convenience of reference, the 'smelting' Wilsons. They shared the strong religious/philanthropic affiliations of the people already mentioned. They differed from them in having a strong political affiliation with the Radical wing of the Liberal party and therefore with national politics.

The 'smelting' Wilsons came originally from Nottingham. William Wilson, who died in 1866, had been a cotton spinner. His wife, Eliza, was a member of the Read family from Sheffield, who controlled the Sheffield Smelting Company, gold and silver refiners. William Wilson took over the smelting works in 1846 and was succeeded there twenty years later by his two sons, Henry Joseph, born in 1833, and John Wycliffe. As a young man, H. J. Wilson farmed at Sherwood Hall near Mansfield.⁴⁶ In 1859 he married Charlotte Cowan from

⁴⁰ J. Edward Vickers, *A Popular History of Sheffield* (East Ardsley, 1978), p. 219.

⁴¹ See M. H. F. Chaytor, *The Wilsons of Sharrow. The snuff-makers of Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1962) for the history of the family.

⁴² E. R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London, 1957), p. 147.

⁴³ W. Odom, *Memorials of Sheffield: Its Cathedral and Parish Churches* (Sheffield, 1922), p. 193.

⁴⁴ See David Hey, *A History of Sheffield* (Lancaster, 1998): ch. 5, 'Steel City and Cutlery Capital'.

⁴⁵ For the leading Methodist families and their connections, see Binfield, 'Religion in Sheffield', *HCS* II, pp. 404-05.

⁴⁶ There is a large collection of H. J. Wilson papers in the Sheffield Archives (MD 2459-2627). I have used the following: - 2460, Diaries (1892, 1900, 1909, 1914); 2464, Cuttings relating to Charlotte Cowan Wilson; 2465, Papers relating to Helen M. Wilson; 2479, Material collected by Dr Helen Wilson for a biography of H.J.W. with some notes on the Wilson and Read families; 2482, Helen M. Wilson, *The Osgathorpe Family and its descendants* (printed 1937). There is a biography of H.J.W. - W. S. Fowler, *A Study in Radicalism and Dissent. The Life and Times of Henry Joseph Wilson* (London, 1961).

Edinburgh, whom he had met when his family was living at Torquay. The family tradition was Congregational and its atmosphere both Puritan and philanthropic. When the younger Wilsons were children they were encouraged to go without butter during the great Irish famine so that the pennies saved might go to the famine fund. William Wilson and his wife had become total abstainers in 1837, which is very early in the history of the total abstinence movement.⁴⁷ H. J. Wilson's membership card of the Taunton Total Abstinence Society, dated 11 September 1849, has survived; he had gone to the Congregational boarding school there the previous year.

Many of his later interests were prefigured in those years at Sherwood Hall. He supported a co-operative society at Mansfield. He attended a lecture by David Livingstone who was staying at nearby Newstead Abbey. He was a keen supporter of the North during the American Civil War, writing to his sister Gertrude in defence of Lincoln:

Well the *result* of all this is an *overwhelming* sense of the vast importance of this question, not only to the slaves and Americans, but to Christianity, civilization, political freedom, the elevation of 'the masses', and the destruction of the works of the Devil in England, Europe, and all the world over.⁴⁸

He could enjoy himself too, as his lively account of the visit to the farm by the men of the Smelting Works suggests (July 1864). The day began with a cricket match against the farm hands, followed by a liberal dinner: 'all nice and nothing lukewarm. Fawn delicious and a great success, so many men never having tasted venison in any form'. The drink served was Beck's lemonade.⁴⁹

Two years later the two brothers, Henry and John Wycliffe, took over the Sheffield business when their father died. For two years Henry devoted himself exclusively to the firm, studying hard and working long hours. He tried to expand the range of the business and, in the opinion of its historian, the effect of the brothers' 'industry, minute attention to detail, willingness to face expenditure where growth demanded it and transparent integrity' was very great. But, it is also suggested, they might have made more money and created a bigger concern if their thoughts had been entirely devoted to that object, but that was not the case.⁵⁰ There was a good deal in public affairs that needed their attention and, in their view, reform.

H. J. Wilson's public activities were very much focused round the family home 'Osgathorpe Hills'. There were five children: two daughters and three sons. Gertrude married a Congregational minister, Frank Lenwood, who became a missionary at Benares in India. Helen, who became a doctor, will be considered later. Of the sons, Cecil was for some years Labour M.P. for Attercliffe; Alick became a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and Oliver was Lord Mayor in 1914 and chairman of the Croft House Settlement, another social venture which sprang from Queen Street Congregationalism.⁵¹

⁴⁷ See Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London, 1971).

⁴⁸ SA: MD 2479 (26 January 1865).

⁴⁹ SA: MD 2479 (in a letter to his wife).

⁵⁰ Ronald E. Wilson, *Two Hundred Precious Metal Years. A History of the Sheffield Smelting Company Limited 1760-1960* (London, 1960), p. 167.

⁵¹ Fowler, *Radicalism and Dissent*, p. 118 (note on the family). For the later history of the family, see Binfield, 'Religion in Sheffield', *HCS* II, p. 397. For the Croft House Settlement see John Roach and J. R. Pitchfork, *Croft House Settlement 1902-2002. A Centenary History* (published by the Settlement).

Both Helen and Alick left descriptions of ‘Osgathorpe Hills’.⁵² It was an old farmhouse standing on a hill with a lawn and paddock sloping down to a pond. There was a field of about sixteen acres used for grazing, by football and cricket clubs, and occasionally by Sunday School parties and political demonstrations. H. J. Wilson enlarged the house considerably. The dining table would seat thirty-two - splendid for gatherings of the whole Wilson clan at Christmas - and when the doors between drawing room and dining room were thrown open, sixty to seventy people could be squeezed in for meetings, sometimes political, sometimes to support peace or temperance. H. J. Wilson was an opponent of the South African War, and when Cronwright Schreiner, the South African patriot, came to speak in 1900, there were policemen around the house in expectation of an attack by a hostile mob. One group who were not forgotten at ‘Osgathorpe Hills’ were the paupers in the workhouse at Fir Vale, not very far away. In a surviving diary for 1914 Charlotte Wilson recorded fifty to sixty ‘defectives here for play and tea’ on 17 July and, on different days in the month, fifty men and fifty women from Fir Vale.⁵³

Alick Wilson, in the source already quoted, gives an interesting account of his father in the home setting. He read to the children Macaulay’s *Lays*, Scott, Mark Twain and Artemus Ward, Whittier’s and Lowell’s poems, R. W. Dale’s sermons, and Isaac Watts’s hymns. Scandal and tittle-tattle were discouraged, but public affairs were often discussed,

...and I specially remember how when he came home after a tiring morning as a magistrate in the police court he would describe cases to us, as to the allegations and defences or denials, and then ask us, ‘What would you have decided?’ It did make us think.

The temperance note was always very strong. At the works the men were paid on Tuesdays, instead of the usual Friday or Saturday, in the hope of keeping some of their money out of the hands of the publicans.

It is impossible to give details about the family’s private charities, but there is an interesting pointer at the end of Charlotte Wilson’s diary for 1909,⁵⁴ where there is a note:

We subscribe in Sheffield to			
Sheffield 30 Institutions		Settlements	5
Hospl ^s and	21	Political	19
Country Homes			
Rescue &	19	Educational	18
Prev ^e			
Temperance	24	Railway	7
Congregational	4	Unclassified	17
Missions	25		
			<hr/> 189 <hr/>

Probably the individual sum in each case was not great, but the aggregate must have been considerable.

⁵². For Helen’s account, see Fowler, *Radicalism and Dissent*, p. 74; for Alick’s, SA: MD 2479:25.
⁵³. SA: MD 2460:4. The Sheffield Archives record four engagement diaries (1899, 1900, 1909, 1914) as those of H. J. Wilson who died on 29 June 1914. The first two are clearly his; the 1909 and 1914 diaries are, I think, Charlotte Wilson’s.
⁵⁴. SA: MD 2460:3.

One cause very close to the heart of both Charlotte and her husband was the campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases Acts. H. J. Wilson was the principal organiser of a meeting at the Cutlers' Hall in 1871 at which Mrs Butler was to speak. She and her husband stayed on that occasion with the Wilsons and, such was the unwillingness of ladies at that time to take an active part in such a campaign, that Charlotte Wilson was the only woman who was prepared to accompany Mrs Butler on to the platform.

H. J. Wilson also took an active part in local politics on the Liberal side in the 1860s and 1870s, and he was M.P. for the Holmfirth division from 1885 to 1912, when he retired from the House of Commons.⁵⁵ He died two years later. He fought against the state regulation of prostitution and against the opium traffic. He opposed what he saw as political oppression in Ireland and he favoured Home Rule. He strongly opposed the South African War, which he called 'a crime against humanity and a great political blunder'. He campaigned for international peace.

Thus far his younger brother, John Wycliffe, has been ignored, though he also made his contribution to Sheffield life.⁵⁶ He was chairman of the Smelting Company, Lord Mayor in 1902 and, as chairman of the Board of Guardians, he initiated the system of bringing up pauper children in cottage homes instead of in large institutions. He was an active Congregationalist, and his wife, Sarah Mary Pye-Smith, belonged to an established Sheffield family with similar religious roots. She was the first woman member of the School Board.

The two Wilson brothers, with J. D. Leader of the *Sheffield Independent*, played a part in the foundation of Sheffield High School, one of the first pupils of which was H. J. Wilson's daughter, Helen, who was to become a considerable figure in her own right. She was the first woman doctor to practise in Sheffield and one of the first women magistrates (1921). She continued her parents' work against vice and prostitution. Her major social work in Sheffield was to found the Rutland Hall Settlement in Neepsend in 1906. It was renamed the Helen Wilson Settlement in 1942, and continued to operate until the 1970s.⁵⁷ Dr Helen Wilson died on 29 December 1951, aged 87.

In the 1870s, when Helen Wilson's father was active in local politics, Sheffield, like other large towns, was much involved with the movement to promote higher education. The Cambridge Extension lectures began in 1875 with the strong support of the then Mayor, Mark Firth. The Firth family's first venture into philanthropy was a substantial contribution to Ranmoor College, opened in 1864 as a training college for ministers of the Methodist New Connexion.⁵⁸ Later, Mark Firth founded almshouses at Nether Green, the foundation stone of which was laid by Lord Shaftesbury in 1869.⁵⁹ A few years later Firth gave thirty-five acres of the Page Hall estate to the town: they form what is now Firth Park.

Firth's involvement with the extension lectures and with higher education produced the last and most prestigious of his benefactions, the building of Firth College

⁵⁵ For H. J. Wilson's political activities see Fowler, *Radicalism and Dissent*, *passim*.

⁵⁶ See SA: MD 2479:17.

⁵⁷ For Helen Wilson's career see SA: MD 2465, 2482. The Annual Reports of the Settlement for the years 1917-67 are in the Sheffield Local Studies Library. See also *Jubilee 50 Years History Progress Activities at the Helen Wilson Settlement 1906-1956* (Local Pamphlets, vol. 244:4).

⁵⁸ British Association for the Advancement of Science, Meeting in Sheffield 1879, *Guide to the Town and District*, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁹ See *ECR* 1897, p. 275 on the almshouse buildings.

at a cost of about £20,000.⁶⁰ He also gave a further endowment for a chair of chemistry and a scholarship. The building, which with some additions still exists, was to be the home of the college for a quarter of a century. Classes began in January 1880. At first, most of the work was at a comparatively low level but study for degrees was always envisaged. Firth College was the first component of the University College of 1897 and the University of 1905. Sadly Firth himself did not survive the start of college teaching, for he died on 28 November 1880.

The second component of the embryonic University, the Technical School, which began its courses in 1886, was again largely inspired by an industrialist, Frederick Thorpe Mappin.⁶¹ The son of a cutlery manufacturer, Mappin became senior partner in a steel firm and a very rich man. He also played a major part in public life, filling the offices of Mayor, Master Cutler and Town Collector. He was M.P., first for East Retford and then for Hallamshire, and he was made a baronet in 1886. He had a very long life, living to contribute to the university appeal of 1903, and did not die until 1910, a whole generation after Mark Firth. Clearly Mappin was not always an easy man to work with, but he was, as A. W. Chapman says, 'the founder of the technological side of the University'.⁶² Like Firth, the Mappin family were benefactors to the town in fields other than education. F. T. Mappin took an active part in the acquisition by the Town Trust of the Botanical Gardens, and he made gifts to the art gallery founded by his uncle, John Newton Mappin, opened in 1887. J. N. Mappin, who died in 1883, had left the family cutlery business and made money as a brewer. The gallery in Weston Park, designed by local architects Flockton and Gibbs, is one of the most elegant buildings in the city.⁶³

The final component of the new University, and the senior in age of the three, was the Medical School, created, as we have seen, by the town's doctors, which had maintained a somewhat precarious existence since 1829. It moved to a new building opposite to Firth College in 1888. By that date the parts were all in place, and their union was effected by the charters of 1897 and 1905. A. W. Chapman, in an appendix to his *History*,⁶⁴ listed the major donors to the new institution. It was not well-endowed and it never attracted any really large benefactions. In its earlier years it had to struggle a great deal but it did attract the support and generous service of a wide group of people right across the city. Many of the donors were active in the corporate bodies already described; they included Lord Mayors, Master Cutlers, Town Trustees and Church Burgesses. The new University fitted quickly and comfortably into the close relationships which had long held together the leading members of local society.

Many of the donors were steel manufacturers. They include Edgar Allen (d. 1915), who built the university library and founded scholarships; and Sir A. J. Hobson (d. 1923), who bequeathed about £40,000 and gave the pavilion on the sports ground at Norton in memory of his two sons, who were killed in the First World War. One archetypal family embracing business interests, local public life and the University, were the Stephensons. Henry Stephenson's firm, Stephenson and Blake, were type-founders. He was Mayor in 1886 when he was knighted, and he was also a Church

⁶⁰ The account of the foundation of the University of Sheffield is taken from Chapman, *Story of a Modern University*.

⁶¹ For F. T. Mappin, see Odom, *Hallamshire Worthies*, pp. 91-6.

⁶² Chapman, *Story of a Modern University*, p. 36.

⁶³ Michael Tooby, *In Perpetuity and without Charge. The Mappin Art Gallery 1887-1987* (Sheffield, 1987); N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire The West Riding (The Buildings of England)*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1967), p. 459.

⁶⁴ Chapman, *Story of a Modern University*, pp. 518-21 (Appendix G).

Burgess. It was largely due to him that Firth College survived after Mark Firth's death, and he did much to obtain the University College charter of 1897. He died in 1904, just before the grant of the University charter of 1905.⁶⁵ His son and grandson followed in the same tradition. Sir Henry Kenyon Stephenson (d. 1947) was both Lord Mayor and Master Cutler, and he was Treasurer and Pro-Chancellor of the University for more than forty years. Like his father he was also a Church Burgess.

Support for the University, both in money and in service, was not limited to the industrialists. Sir George Franklin (d. 1916), the first Pro-Chancellor, was a chartered accountant. Robert Styring, who founded postgraduate scholarships, was a solicitor, as was Edward Bramley, the progenitor of the Law School, after whom the Bramley playing fields are named. There were representatives too, of an older Sheffield among the donors. The scientist, H. C. Sorby (d. 1908), left bequests for a chair of geology and for a fellowship for scientific research. Dr H. J. Hunter, son of the historian Joseph Hunter, who died in 1908, left a bequest which was used to endow the chair of pathology. Finally, the largest local landowner, Henry, 15th Duke of Norfolk, subscribed to the appeals for the new institution and was President of the University College and first Chancellor of the University.

Of course public financing was important too. The support of Sheffield city council and of the other local authorities was essential. The Town Trustees contributed, and in 1914 the London Drapers' Company made a large gift to the applied science departments. In the 1880s, W. M. Hicks, Principal of Firth College and later the first Vice-Chancellor, had been one of the small group of college principals who worked successfully to obtain the first government grant. But essentially the task had been done by quite a small group of people working together over a whole generation.

By 1914 the new University had been established, though it still had many difficulties to overcome. Since 1790 Sheffield, like similar towns, had grown greatly in size and had experienced major industrial change. Emphasis has frequently been laid by historians of this era on political and economic movements, on large-scale industry, on the coming of a democratic system. This article has concentrated rather on the growth of a wider and more generous community with institutions capable of providing a more civilised life for the people. If such a study were to be comprehensive, it would require much more space than is afforded by a single article. All that has been offered here is a series of vignettes - the foundation of the first hospitals, the philanthropic work of some early nineteenth-century townspeople, the activities of one Nonconformist family with a strong interest in politics, the long campaign to create a university for the city and its region. The study has touched on health, on charity, on religion, on education and on literature, and has thrown some light on social and intellectual life. There are a few outstanding individuals like James Montgomery and Mark Firth, but it is principally a story of co-operation and of results obtained through common effort. It is the history of a small number of groups who created a large part of the modern fabric of Sheffield, and in so doing made a distinctive contribution to the wider, national life.

⁶⁵ Keeble Hawson, *Sheffield. The Growth of a City*, pp. 330-31.

EMERSON BAINBRIDGE OF NEWCASTLE & SHEFFIELD, AN OVERLOOKED ENTREPRENEUR

By David Wilmot

Emerson Bainbridge was born in Newcastle upon Tyne but spent most of his professional life in Sheffield and south Yorkshire. A late-nineteenth century mining and civil engineer with a firm approach to his business dealings, Bainbridge is remembered locally more for his philanthropic gestures. Yet the deaths of his wife, father and other family members in the mid-1890s changed his life. He purchased a large shooting estate in the Scottish Highlands, married a girl of his daughter's age, and lost his parliamentary ambitions.

The general expectation, and accepted practice, is for personal achievements to be recognised only after the death of the subject, and then in respectful, carefully worded terms. So it was for Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge when, in May 1911, the *Sheffield Telegraph* published a warmly phrased obituary.¹ Similar obituaries appeared in other local, as well as in national newspapers and publications of the professional bodies with which he had been connected during his life of three score years and five. Surprisingly, very little was written about Bainbridge in succeeding years despite his extensive interests and activities – attributable no doubt to their geographical spread and wide variety. The one exception is the biography of the Bainbridge family by Angela and John Airey, the former being Bainbridge's great-great niece.² Although not without its limitations regarding his life and work in Sheffield, this work provides an invaluable starting point for the research that follows.

Bainbridge is best remembered in Derbyshire, for his Bolsover colliery activities and, particularly, for the model villages associated with those pits. He is less well known for his promotion and development of the Lancashire, Derbyshire & East Coast Railway (L.D. & E.C.R.), a half-hearted scheme more often attributed to William Arkwright of Sutton Scarsdale. Nor is there clear recognition of his involvement with other large colliery companies, two being in Derbyshire and one each in Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire. His Yorkshire career is even less recognised and Yorkshire historians have so far passed him by, despite the fact that over a period of some forty years he was active in no less than seven colliery schemes in the West Riding of Yorkshire, he worked to promote both the Sheffield & South Yorkshire Navigation and the Sheffield District Railway, and he held directorships in two major manufacturing companies in Sheffield. Bainbridge was also visibly involved in support of socially beneficial institutions so that, in all, his period of residence in south Yorkshire can be seen as providing the main thread of his life and business success.

By examining Bainbridge's activities through that period, we can assess the justification for the *Sheffield Telegraph's* valediction regarding his 'numerous

¹ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* [henceforth SDT], 13 May 1911.

² Angela and John Airey, *The Bainbridges of Newcastle, a family history, 1679–1976* (Newcastle, 1979), preface.

binding ties and close association with the political, philanthropic and commercial life of the city'.³ Indeed, amongst the Newcastle upon Tyne-based Bainbridge family, Emerson Bainbridge was always known as 'Emerson Bainbridge of Sheffield'.⁴ While this helped to distinguish him from his father, being the first of several in the family line to echo the full style of Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge, it does show that the Bainbridge family certainly saw Sheffield as his home ground, albeit by adoption when in early adulthood. From the start of his substantive working life in the mid-Victorian 1870s through to his death in the first year of King George V's reign, in 1911, Bainbridge made a significant impact upon Sheffield's industrial scene. He also contributed much to the social and religious aspects of Sheffield life which serve to highlight the altruistic and affable nature of the man, in some contrast to the harsher and more competitive character who achieved considerable success as a mining engineer and industrialist.

Bainbridge's father is best known as the founder, in Newcastle, of Britain's first department store and he invested some of the profits from the highly successful business in collieries such as at Blackwell and Unstone in Derbyshire as well as the Consett Ironworks in County Durham.⁵ Bainbridge also had older brothers whose careers lay with their father in the family firm, so, given the father's colliery investments, it should come as no surprise that the younger Emerson chose a different career from the rest of the family, going into that longstanding mainstay of north-east England's economy, the production of coal.

Bainbridge was born in December 1845 at Newcastle, the fourth son and fifth child of Emerson Muschamp and Annie Bainbridge. The success of Bainbridge senior's department store meant he could afford to give his family a private education, so young Emerson went first to Edenfield School, Doncaster and then he joined his elder brothers at Wesley College, Sheffield, though there were excellent schools closer to home in Newcastle.⁶ The choice of Wesley College no doubt stemmed from Bainbridge senior's understandable desire to maintain his own strong Methodist faith in the next generation of the family. It is also possible that Emerson senior had become familiar with the schools in south Yorkshire from his colliery investment connections in nearby north Derbyshire. Edenfield was the smaller, less well equipped, of the two schools and was probably chosen by the Bainbridges to prepare young Emerson for Wesley College.⁷ The advertised curriculum at the latter emphasised the classics not technical or science subjects.⁸ This shortcoming persisted. Many years later, when Wesley College was being reviewed prior to its merger with Sheffield Grammar School, the lack of facilities for the teaching of science subjects was highlighted as a significant weakness.⁹

Young Emerson's attainments at Wesley College are not known. From 1863 to 1867 he trained as a Viewer under John Daglish, both at Hetton Colliery and at the collieries of the Marquis of Londonderry in County Durham, as well as studying

³ *SDT*, 13 May 1911.

⁴ Airey, *Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p. 97.

⁵ Probate Registry, 00/03/2246, Will of Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge of Eshott Hall, 20 November 1891.

⁶ Airey, *Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p. 54.

⁷ *White's Directory of Sheffield, Doncaster and Chesterfield* (1868), p. 51, Edenfield School advertisement.

⁸ *White's Directory of Sheffield* (1852), pp. 112–14.

⁹ Sheffield Local Studies Library: Michael Sadler, *Report on Secondary & Higher Education, 1903*, for City of Sheffield Education Committee.

mining engineering in Newcastle.¹⁰ In January 1868 he became Assistant Manager of Londonderry's property and acted as a consultant to other collieries, probably those in which his father had invested. Then in April 1870, at the age of twenty four, he arrived back in Sheffield to take up an appointment as manager of the Nunnery and Tinsley Park Collieries, a conglomeration of pits leased from the Duke of Norfolk by Benjamin Huntsman.¹¹ A descendant of the pioneer maker of crucible steel, Huntsman bowed out shortly after Bainbridge's arrival, handing his leases back to the Duke in October 1870.¹²

By this time the Duke of Norfolk was ten years into his dukedom, yet still only twenty two years old and receiving over £50,000 a year from his Sheffield rents, mineral rights and markets, this being more than half the income from the whole of his estates.¹³ The Duke was at that time an experienced businessman but would have relied heavily upon the expertise of the rather elderly Huntsman in managing the colliery investments. The appointment of Bainbridge, who was of comparable age to the Duke, not only portended a good working relationship but offered prospects of a less expensive though well-trained manager than his more experienced predecessor. Bainbridge managed Nunnery Colliery under the Duke's direct control for the next four years until, in October 1874, it was transferred to a limited company formed with Bainbridge as its managing director.¹⁴ Management of Tinsley Park colliery was not within Bainbridge's remit after Huntsman's departure.

Bainbridge was probably a major shareholder in, as well as managing director of, the limited liability Nunnery Colliery Company, and he may have had family backing for this. Certainly that was the case with another Bainbridge enterprise, the Bolsover Colliery Company, in which more than forty per cent of the initial capital came from the Newcastle area and Bainbridge-associated families.¹⁵ A local newspaper of the time reported that although the new Nunnery company had completed the purchase, the price had not been disclosed.¹⁶ All that was said was that there were just a few shareholders consisting 'almost entirely of gentlemen occupying high positions in the town' and this, coupled with the discreet capital arrangements, suggests the colliery was seen as a very good investment prospect of which Bainbridge was well-placed to take advantage.

The working life at Nunnery Colliery tested Bainbridge's competence as a manager and mining engineer. In July 1871, when he was twenty five and just a year into his direct management responsibility, there was a serious fire in the shaft at Parkgate pit on Cricket Road, destroying the headgear, cages and ventilation fan.¹⁷ Around one hundred miners were underground at the time but all escaped safely through the Company's adjoining Silkstone pit. Despite the extensive damage, Bainbridge arranged for work to resume within forty-eight hours, ventilating the colliery by resorting to use of an outmoded pit-shaft furnace to create the essential

¹⁰ Institution of Civil Engineers: *Transactions; Proceedings*; proposition paper for membership, 21 March 1871. See also the Bainbridge obituaries, particularly in *Engineering*, 19 May 1911, p.666, and *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, July 1911, p. 411.

¹¹ The National Archives [henceforth TNA], Rail 1027/74, *Duke of Norfolk and Nunnery Colliery Company v. Midland Railway Company*, in *Arbitration*, vol. 1, Day 1, p. 24.

¹² *Sheffield Local Register* [henceforth SLR], 1858–1880, p. 859.

¹³ John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 212–14 and 231.

¹⁴ *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* [henceforth S & RI], 1 October 1874.

¹⁵ Derbyshire Record Office, N32/45/1, Bolsover Colliery Co. Letter Book, pp. 18–19, 1891.

¹⁶ S & RI, 1 October 1874.

¹⁷ S & RI, 11 July 1871.

upcast draught lost due to the destruction of the fan.¹⁸

As elsewhere in the coal industry at this period, industrial relations were to be a repeated problem and Bainbridge at Nunnery Colliery showed himself to be a man of his time. Two examples serve to show the Company's attitude to labour relations: the adoption of a firm response. In 1878 there was a long strike prompted by a reduction in wages by the company. The company responded by bringing in non-union men from Chesterfield and neighbourhood.¹⁹ For the security of these blacklegs – and doubtless to the increased irritation of the strikers – the company provided accommodation and food in its nearby houses, as well as using the local constabulary to protect the men from stone-throwing striking miners.²⁰ In both 1880 and 1881 the Nunnery company again reduced wages due to falls in the price of their coal. The miners responded by stopping work. Bainbridge's solution in both cases was to offer the men 'a temporary advance of 5% based on the land-sale price of the company's coal'.²¹ Payments would depend upon the price increasing above a certain level and would cease if the price subsequently dropped below that point. Following the loss of the second tranche of payments due to the fall of the market price for coal, the miners again withdrew their labour. The Company then sued for damages a token sixteen workers out of more than two hundred for breach of the agreement but, despite evidence from Bainbridge, the Stipendiary Magistrate rejected the claim as the Company could not prove acceptance by its employees of Bainbridge's putative agreement.²²

Despite such set-backs, Bainbridge's status as manager of the Nunnery Colliery Company and his reputation as a mining engineer were recognised in 1883 when the river Sheaf flooded the colliery workings and overwhelmed the pumps.²³ The problem occurred at a point where the river flowed beneath the Midland Railway's station which had been constructed over the river bed. Not for the first time it was claimed that this had caused water to get into the colliery's Silkstone seam: in 1866 and 1868, there was flooding when the station was first being built and the Midland had conceded to the Duke of Norfolk and Huntsman damages of £7,500 and provided safeguards to prevent a recurrence.²⁴ The 1883 inundation highlighted the almost continuous problem the colliery had endured with water in its workings and a lengthy arbitration case ensued.

Bainbridge was a key expert witness for the Duke and the colliery company's cause. The arbitration proceedings were spread over several weeks, commencing in December 1885 at the Royal Victoria Hotel in Sheffield and concluding at the Surveyors Institution in Westminster the following April.²⁵ Much of the time was spent deliberating over the precise volume of water that had entered the workings directly from the river to justify the Nunnery company's claims for compensation of £1,500 for the cost of additional pumping plus £24,133 for the cost of loss of production.²⁶ However, while there appeared to be no doubt that the Midland

¹⁸. *Ibid.*

¹⁹. *S & RI*, 24 September 1878.

²⁰. *Ibid.* The word 'blackleg' dates from industrial disputes in the mid-1860s.

²¹. *S & RI*, 1 April 1881.

²². *Ibid.*

²³. *S & RI*, 26 February 1883.

²⁴. TNA, Rail 1027/74, D. of N. & N.N.C. v. M.R.Co, vol.1, Day 1, p. 2 and Day 2, p. 5.

²⁵. *Ibid.*

²⁶. *Ibid.*, Day 4, p. 183.

Railway Company was liable, a search for the amount of the eventual settlement has so far failed.

Bainbridge's status in his profession is indicated by his membership of professional bodies and societies, to which he gave learned papers from time to time. As a student member, he presented a paper to the Institution of Civil Engineers in December 1870 entitled 'Coal mining in deep workings', for depths around 4,000 feet. This was evidence of his growing interest in deep mining, leading to his involvement in the subsequent deeper mines in South Yorkshire such as South Kirkby colliery and those of the Derbyshire & Nottinghamshire coalfield from the last decade of the nineteenth century. The immediate consequence of his paper was a prize of books from the Institution as the 'Manby Premium'. Twelve months later, in December 1871, he was elected as an Associate Member, going on to become a full member in May 1883.²⁷ He was also one of the first members of the Chesterfield & Derbyshire Institute of Mining, Civil & Mechanical Engineers, formed in 1871 with over one hundred members, serving as a councillor during 1874-75 and again for 1876-77.²⁸ In 1875 he presented a paper on 'The Application of Mechanical Power in Colliery Operations'.²⁹ Bainbridge was also a graduate member of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, a body to which he gave several papers. When the Institution gathered in Sheffield in 1890, Bainbridge gave a paper on 'Recent Improvements in the Mechanical Engineering of Coal Mines'.³⁰ However, on this occasion a group of members voiced criticisms of Bainbridge's paper for delving too far back and lacking news of recent innovations. In addition to publication in the *Proceedings* of the Institution, a close account of the paper and criticisms duly appeared in the local press, no doubt causing Bainbridge some personal irritation.³¹ He defended his paper by saying he had erroneously assumed members present might not be familiar with engineering in mines, and so would find the background information helpful to their understanding of the technical advances.³² More probably, he was too busy on other business matters to give the paper the level of attention to detail expected by the membership. Nevertheless the following year he became a full Member of the Institution.

Another of Bainbridge's interests at this time lay in the related field of transportation. By August 1888 pressure had grown in Sheffield and neighbouring towns for the development of a waterway capable of allowing sea-going vessels of up to 500 tons to reach as far inland as Sheffield.³³ Bainbridge was a keen advocate of the scheme and became a director of the Sheffield & South Yorkshire Canal Company Limited upon its formation in November 1888.³⁴ Enacted the following August, the scheme failed to achieve its goal of independence due to insufficient funds being raised for the purchase from the Manchester, Sheffield & Lincolnshire

²⁷ Institution of Civil Engineers: Copies of candidates' membership proposition papers, March 1871 and May 1883. [These were papers proposing candidates for admission into the Institution or transfer to full membership and appear to have been circulated within the Institution just before an election was considered by the Council.]

²⁸ Chesterfield Local Studies Library: various volumes of *Transactions of the Chesterfield & Derbyshire Institute of Mining, Civil & Mechanical Engineers*.

²⁹ *Transactions of the Chesterfield & Derbyshire Institute* (1875), III, pp. 34-41, 130-52, 263, 336-38 and 342.

³⁰ Institution of Mechanical Engineers: Index of Proceedings, pp.15 and 33.

³¹ *S & RI*, 31 July 1890.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ A. L. Barnett, *The Railways of the South Yorkshire Coalfield from 1880* (London, 1984), p. 26.

³⁴ Charles Hadfield, *The Canals of Yorkshire and North East England*, 2 vols (Newton Abbot, 1972-73), vol. 2, p. 416; also *S & RI*, 28 February 1890.

Railway (M.S. & L.R.) of four existing canals essential for the enlargement plans. The scheme had the support of both the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl Fitzwilliam, as well as several major industrialists from the Sheffield area. Bainbridge strongly supported the proposal and spoke at length about its potential, but all to no avail.³⁵ Hopes expressed by him for the development of Keadby as a port on the lines of Goole were not to be realised. Neither did his comparison of the Sheffield Navigation's traffic potential with that of the Manchester Ship Canal, then under construction, convince potential investors to subscribe.³⁶ Back in the hands of the M.S. & L.R., the expansion scheme became moribund. After all, the M.S. & L.R. had its own dock facilities at Grimsby in which it had invested heavily and had already provided what it no doubt considered to be perfectly adequate, revenue earning, railway routes to its coastal port.

These adverse experiences behind him by 1891, Bainbridge next gave evidence to the House of Lords Committee in support of a Bill to establish the Lancashire, Derbyshire & East Coast Railway, a line for which he claimed to have surveyed its 172 miles of route.³⁷ The L.D. & E.C.R. project was important to Bainbridge for the development of the Bolsover and Creswell pits of his north Derbyshire-based Bolsover Colliery Company. By October 1892, he had been appointed chairman of the railway company in place of its original promoter, William Arkwright.³⁸ Clearly enthusiastic about a scheme to get coal to east and west coast ports, the true merit of his case for the railway was questioned when the opposing lawyer drew attention to Bainbridge's having given evidence to Parliament only about two years earlier in support of the Sheffield Navigation – a scheme, he was reminded, that he had claimed to be the ideal means of moving the coal coastwards.³⁹ The over-riding anxiety of Bainbridge to get coal away from his pits was all too visible.

Nonetheless, the L.D. & E.C.R. Bill was enacted in July 1891, though in the event, the L.D. & E.C.R. was only marginally more successful than the Navigation scheme: only the sections between Chesterfield and Lincoln were opened and, after ten impecunious years, the Company was absorbed by the renamed M.S. & L.R., the Great Central Railway Company (G.C.R), in January 1907. The L.D. & E.C.R. had failed to reach the intended East and West coast ports but it did contribute handsomely to the movement of Bainbridge's coal from north Derbyshire and from Sheffield to London by means of the Great Eastern Railway and to the M.S. & L.R./G.C.R. at Grimsby from their connections with the L.D. & E.C.R. at Lincoln.

One month after the enactment of the L.D. & E.C.R. Bill, Bainbridge laid on a grand gathering for a very different interest of his, the Sheffield Young Men's Christian Association.⁴⁰ The Y.M.C.A. in Sheffield had been raised from a somewhat moribund state by Bainbridge's enthusiasm and financial assistance. In 1876, when he became its president, the Y.M.C.A. had assets of £16 but liabilities of £691 and no permanent quarters.⁴¹ That same year the members organised a three-day fund-

³⁵ Hadfield, pp. 418–19; also *S & RI*, 18 December 1888 and 6 November 1889.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ House of Lords Record Office: *Minutes of Hearing of Opposed Bills Committee*, vol. 11 (July 1891), evidence of Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge.

³⁸ George Dow, *Great Central*, 3 vols, (London, 1959–65, 3rd impression 1985), vol. 3, p. 156.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *S & RI*, 17 August 1891.

⁴¹ *SLR*, p. 1016, 31 July 1876.

raising event and realised £1,450.⁴² At the Annual General Meeting in 1886, with the membership standing at 350 but financial difficulties still persisting, Bainbridge expressed concern that they were such a small proportion of Sheffield's population when compared with Y.M.C.A. membership obtaining in other towns.⁴³ His persistence paid off in December 1888 when the formation of a company was announced to build premises on land to be bought on Fargate at a total cost of £16,000.⁴⁴ With the help of Bainbridge's contribution of £7,000 for the land purchase, the Y.M.C.A. building in Fargate was opened in June 1891.⁴⁵ So it was that two months later, on a Saturday afternoon in mid August some four hundred members of the Y.M.C.A. gathered at their new Fargate building before embarking in a fleet of horse-drawn wagonettes for a procession to Baslow where they disgorged for the football field in Chatsworth Park. The members enjoyed sports on arrival at Chatsworth followed by tea in a specially erected marquee, before returning to Sheffield by late evening.⁴⁶ The event was to be one of the most frequently mentioned items in earlier accounts of Bainbridge's life.

After twenty years in Sheffield as an engineer – not the most socially prestigious of occupations even in an industrial city – Bainbridge was clearly breaking out into the wider arena of business and philanthropic activity. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace in Sheffield in July 1886,⁴⁷ and his arrival among the great and the good of his adopted town was crowned by his election to membership of 'The Sheffield Club' in March 1890. The club, at the corner of Norfolk and Mulberry streets, was described as 'synonymous with the elite of Sheffield' and provided comprehensive dining, refreshment, games, and residential accommodation – and what today would be called business networking – for its 250, exclusively male, membership.⁴⁸

It could be thought from his wide sphere of business and social activities that Bainbridge would have had little time for personal and family matters but that was by no means the case. His first residence in Sheffield appears to have been at 5 Victoria Street, where he was recorded in White's Directory for 1872. By the time of the 1876 Electoral Register he had become the owner of 41 Westbourne Road, an area in course of development in a better part of Sheffield close to the Botanical Gardens. It is highly likely that Bainbridge had actually moved there about two years earlier, in time for his marriage on 9 April 1874 when, at the age of twenty eight, he had married Eliza Jefferson Armstrong at St John's Church, Broughton parish, Lancashire.⁴⁹ The wedding plans had probably been influenced by the imminence of Bainbridge's appointment as managing director of the Nunnery Colliery Company. Popularly known as 'Jeffie', Eliza Armstrong came from a Salford family which already had connections with the Bainbridge family as her sister, Margaret, had married Emerson's eldest brother, Cuthbert, in 1862.⁵⁰

⁴² Sheffield Archives, MD341, D Thompson, *Sheffield YMCA, a short centennial history, 1855–1955*, p. 8 (privately published).

⁴³ *S & RI*, 26 November 1886.

⁴⁴ *S & RI*, 17 December 1888.

⁴⁵ Thompson, *Sheffield YMCA*, p.10.

⁴⁶ *S & RI*, 17 August 1891.

⁴⁷ *SLR*, 14 July 1886.

⁴⁸ D. M Higgins, A. P. White and P. E. Wilbourn, *From a Village to a City – 150 years of the Sheffield Club*, (Sheffield, 1993).

⁴⁹ General Register Office [henceforth GRO] Marriages Index, 1874, 2nd Qu, Salford district, vol. 8d,

⁵⁰ Airey, *Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p. 49.

The house at 41 Westbourne Road was to be where the first three of Emerson and Jeffie's four children were born. Their first child, Mary Armstrong, was born in the winter of 1876 but survived only a year.⁵¹ The next child was a boy, yet another Emerson Muschamp, known as 'Etton' born at the beginning of 1878. He was followed by Oswald Jefferson in the late summer of 1879.⁵² Curiously, in the Census records of 1881 one-year-old Oswald is named as the head of the household, having apparently been left in the care of the five servants also listed as being in residence. The whereabouts of Emerson, Jeffie and Etton have not been traced at this time, and it may be that the absence of their names from British census records suggests they were abroad, possibly for the health of either Jeffie or Etton.

Later in 1881 the family moved further up Westbourne Road to no. 60. Known as 'Ashdell Grove', the house had been built around 1856 for the prominent local brewer, Thomas Moore, who lived there up to his death in 1880.⁵³ 'Ashdell Grove' became the family home for the next fifteen years, until some time between 1896 and 1898 when they left Sheffield for London. It was also the birthplace of the fourth and last child from Bainbridge's marriage to Eliza 'Jeffie', a daughter named Eva Jeffie.⁵⁴ This house was considerably larger than no. 41, with a ballroom, a viewing tower to look over the extensive grounds and beyond, as well as a range of stables and outbuildings for the essential accoutrements of life in the upper echelons of Sheffield's middle classes. Had it not been for Bainbridge's career moving into entrepreneurial activities, promoting new railways and collieries, as well as taking on professional mining engineering work in England and abroad, 'Ashdell Grove' would have been a sufficiently prestigious residence for a lot longer than was to be the case.

As Bainbridge's public life became increasingly established, though, his private life was disrupted by the death of his eldest son Emerson ('Etton') while at school in Hampshire, aged just ten.⁵⁵ The loss of Etton, from a known heart condition was a tragic event for Bainbridge who was renowned for his *joie de vivre* and regard for his children. He was to publish a memorial booklet after his son's death, describing their conversation in their last hours together.⁵⁶ Worse was to follow just four years later. In January 1892, one of Bainbridge's sisters, Alice, died at the age of thirty two and that same month his wife, Jeffie, also died – two losses which caused Bainbridge's father to suffer a severe stroke from which he died in February.⁵⁷ Jeffie was just forty four and the likely effect on Bainbridge of these losses within such a short span can hardly be imagined. It was undoubtedly a turning point in his life.

In October 1892 it was announced that Emerson Bainbridge was creating 'The Jeffie Bainbridge Children's Shelter' in memory of his wife as part of a commercial property development on the corner of Norfolk and Surrey streets.⁵⁸ He proposed to provide the land and buildings at a cost of up to £10,000 and to hand part of the building over to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

⁵¹ GRO Births Index, 1876, 1st Qtr, Ecclesall Bierlow, 9c/341; Deaths Index, 1877, 1st Qtr, Ecclesall Bierlow, 9a/176 (not 'circa 1889' as in Airey, p. 96).

⁵² GRO Births Index, 1878, 1st Qtr, Ecclesall Bierlow, 9c/324; and 1879, 3rd Qtr, Ecclesall Bierlow 9c/289 (although Airey, p. 96, incorrectly gives 'circa 1880' and '1884').

⁵³ Information from the Moore family historian, Eva Wilkinson.

⁵⁴ GRO Births Index, 1881, 4th Qtr, Ecclesall Bierlow, 9c/367 (although Airey, p. 96, quotes '1886').

⁵⁵ GRO Deaths Index, 1888, 2nd Qtr, Christchurch, 2b/404.

⁵⁶ Airey, *Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p. 97.

⁵⁷ Airey, *Bainbridges of Newcastle*, p. 87.

⁵⁸ *S & RI*, 25 October 1892.

Children rent free, while also offering to join in the contributions towards running expenses.⁵⁹ The ground floor shops, with their town centre location, could be expected to provide Bainbridge with a rental income sufficient to cover his maintenance undertaking to the S.P.C.C., as well as a small return on his capital investment. Bainbridge hoped they would enable the charity to give up to a hundred and fifty children shelter, warmth and food, to enquire in to their cases and, with the assistance of the Y.M.C.A. members, provide them with a Sunday School.

Despite this commitment to philanthropy, renewed at a time of personal grief, Bainbridge did not show to the same extent as others in his family and business circle that degree of commitment which made them leaders of Nonconformity on the national stage. Wesleyan Methodism had been a fundamental feature not only of Emerson Bainbridge's father's life, but also that of his brothers, Cuthbert and Thomas Hudson, as well as business associates such as Robert Perks. The general perception of Emerson Bainbridge as a Methodist stems more from the Bainbridge family's general reputation, reinforced by his association with his brother, Thomas, on one occasion in 1896 when they donated the stained glass chancel window in the Wesley Memorial Chapel in Epworth, the 'Mecca' of Methodism. From this his continuing Methodism might have been a reasonable assumption were it not for the fact that Bainbridge was there also as MP for Gainsborough in which Lincolnshire constituency Epworth stood; and in his speech at the opening ceremony he chose this highly important occasion to point out that 'he was not a Methodist himself'. It was left to Thomas in his following speech to save the day by confirming his own belief in Methodism.⁶⁰ Bainbridge himself appears to have eschewed Methodism probably from the time of his Church of England marriage to Jeffie in 1874. No evidence has so far been found of any significant participation, either as a member or as a benefactor, in any of the Methodist churches in Sheffield, though he remained a strong supporter of the Young Mens' Christian Association.

After the deaths of his sister, wife and father, Bainbridge's life style changed quite markedly. First, he purchased a 40,000 acre estate, Achnashellach, in Rosshire for £52,000 in November 1894.⁶¹ The property included deer shoots, fresh water fishing lakes, three hamlets and a grand house, 'Achnashellach Lodge'.⁶² The Highland Railway's line from Inverness to Strome Ferry and Kyle of Lochalsh passed through the steep sided valley, with a station conveniently close to the Lodge. It was at Achnashellach that Bainbridge encountered the young woman who was to become his second wife. Norah Mossom Merryweather was the step daughter of J. Compton Merryweather, a London-based fire engine and water pump manufacturer, and the best friend of Bainbridge's daughter, Eva Jeffie, probably through their being at school together. The two girls went to visit Achnashellach, where Norah met Bainbridge.⁶³ The marriage took place at St Margaret's, Westminster, on 20 July 1898.⁶⁴ After the lavish wedding celebrations the couple went to Achnashellach before embarking on a tour round the world lasting several months.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *S & RI*, 1 February 1896.

⁶¹ National Archive of Scotland: *Register of Sasines, Ross & Cromarty*, vol. 27, 1895, folios 76–84.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ According to Airey, the first meeting took place when Jeffie was 18, i.e. not before autumn 1899, but, given the date of the marriage (20 July 1898), it seems more likely that the meeting occurred in 1897 when Jeffie was just 16 and Norah was about the same age.

⁶⁴ *S & RI*, 21 July 1898.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Bainbridge was elected as the Liberal Member of Parliament for the Gainsborough constituency in 1895, but his pursuit of that seat is more likely to have been related in both timing and purpose to the quest for funding and support for the construction of the L.D. & E.C.R. than with any local connections or desire for public service. It was a well-established practice for railway companies to have influence in Parliament and, as chairman of the L.D. & E.C.R. and with Robert Perks and other fellow L.D. & E.C.R. directors already having seats in the House of Commons, it would have been very useful for Bainbridge to join them. Being less than forty miles from Sheffield and accessible by a direct M.S. & L.R. train service, Gainsborough would also have been a convenient seat for Bainbridge. But after his marriage to Norah Merryweather, their extended world tour prompted questions in the Sheffield press about his dedication to his parliamentary role. Three months into his honeymoon tour, in late November 1898, Bainbridge had to send a public letter from Singapore in which he declared he very much had the interests of his Gainsborough constituents at heart and had no intention of stepping down as their Member of Parliament.⁶⁶ However, in the 'Khaki' election of 1900, he lost the seat to a Conservative, albeit by a small margin.⁶⁷

The high level of Bainbridge's business activities elsewhere, coupled with the demands on him as a Member of Parliament, not to mention the leisure opportunities of his Scottish shooting estate, suggest that from about 1894 he was progressively reducing the time he spent in Sheffield. The date of his actual departure from Ashdell Grove, and so from permanent residence in town, has not been found but it would appear to be around the time of his second marriage. He was recorded as the occupant in 1896 and he gave that address as his residence at the time of his marriage in July 1898, though in the same year Edward Parker Reynolds was shown as now living there.⁶⁸ Yet, despite his physical withdrawal, Bainbridge did maintain substantial connections with Sheffield and its people right up to his death in May 1911. Several obituaries credit him with directorships in two Sheffield companies, the Hardy Patent Pick & Tool Co. Ltd., and the Yorkshire Engine Co. Ltd., of Meadowhall. He was also chairman of the Sheffield District Railway Company, a short but significant line worked by the L.D. & E.C.R. developed after Bainbridge had taken up residence in London.

The extent of these continuing business interests must await further research. He was involved with the Lidgett Coal Company Ltd and the Wharncliffe Silkstone Colliery Company Ltd, both major employers at Tankersley, near Barnsley, and the South Kirkby Colliery Company, near Wakefield. In 1910 he participated in the Hatfield Main Colliery near Doncaster and was associated with two further colliery schemes (Barnby Dun and South Carr) that failed to reach fruition. In all these schemes Bainbridge is variously reported as having been a major player but precise details have not so far been found.⁶⁹ Yorkshire was clearly his main field of business activity throughout his adult life and the surviving family memory of him as 'Emerson Bainbridge of Sheffield' is evidence of his pride in that soubriquet.

Bainbridge died at the age of sixty five from double pneumonia following

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 21 December 1898.

⁶⁷ *SLR*, 12 October 1900.

⁶⁸ *White's Directory of Sheffield* (1896 and 1898); also GRO Index of Marriages. 1898, 3rd Qtr, St George's Hanover Sq., 1a./1092.

⁶⁹ The last three schemes are outlined in A. L. Barnett, *Railways of the South Yorkshire Coalfield*, but again with no more than the association of Bainbridge's name with the colliery concerned.

a bout of influenza, at his London residence on 12 May 1911.⁷⁰ He was buried three days later in Brookwood Cemetery in Surrey, the funeral cortège going from Waterloo to the cemetery's station by special train. A memorial service was held at the same hour at St George's, Hanover Square. His estate was valued in excess of £460,000 but his will, unlike that of his father, did not describe the investments held. The Achnashellach estate was left to his son, Oswald, and a villa at Rocquebrunne, near Menton in the south of France, went to Norah.⁷¹ One other detail stands out: a bequest of £450 to George Blake Walker of Tankersley Grange, near Barnsley, 'to recoup him the loss on an investment'. Walker had been with Bainbridge at Nunnery colliery and was managing director of Wharnccliffe Silkstone colliery at least until 1894.⁷² The amount would not have been as significant to Walker so much as the thought behind it. The method of settlement suggests Walker had declined to accept an earlier offer of compensation from Bainbridge but the latter still carried the loss on his conscience.

Bainbridge was a successful mining engineer, manager and business man whose activities made him a lot of money. Yet the reception given his paper to the Institution of Mechanical Engineers in 1890 suggests he was getting out of date, his ventures into water and rail transportation were not wholly successful and as a Member of Parliament he served just one five-year term without showing the commitment of others among his coal-owning and industrialist compatriots such as Robert Perks and his partner, Henry Fowler.⁷³ Bainbridge has chiefly been remembered for his philanthropic actions but again, when compared with those of others, including his own family, they appear no more than usual for a man of his wealth and position. The balance of his reputation, therefore, will bear further examination.

Airey attributes Bainbridge's provision of model villages for his Bolsover and Creswell miners to the inspiration of his father's paternalistic improvements to housing and communal facilities for the workers on the 1,775 acre Eshott Estate in Northumberland, bought in 1887. Emerson senior's small agricultural settlement, though, does not bear comparison with industrial settlements of the later nineteenth century and it is more likely that Bainbridge of Sheffield was inspired by the large-scale and well-established settlements created by Jedediah Strutt at Belper in Derbyshire, by Edward Akroyd at Akroydon near Halifax or Titus Salt at Saltaire. However, Bainbridge's provision of housing for his miners in Derbyshire, firstly at Bolsover and then at Creswell, was not overtly paternalistic as he never lived close enough to his collieries to influence significantly the way of life of the occupants. Nor should the provision of miners' housing be regarded primarily as a philanthropic gesture. His new, deep Derbyshire pits were located in thinly populated areas with a great need to bring in workers from outside. Indeed, had philanthropy been a foremost thought, we should expect to have found similar model villages to New Bolsover built near his Sheffield and Barnsley pits where the workers lived in urban areas with housing standards much in need of improvement. While it is true that later collieries in Yorkshire with which Bainbridge was connected did have housing provided in the model village style, this was more

⁷⁰ *The Times*, 16 May 1911.

⁷¹ Probate Registry, 00/03/2247, Will of Emerson Muschamp Bainbridge of 47 Upper Grosvenor Street, London, 6 August 1910.

⁷² *Potts Mining Register and Directory*, 7th ed.. (1895).

⁷³ See *A Dictionary of Methodism*, ed. J. A. Vickers (Peterborough, 2000), pp. 15 (Bainbridge), 127 (Fowler) and 269 (Perks).

attributable to the general expectations of improved housing standards resulting from the actions elsewhere of socially concerned groups, coupled with growing national and local governmental influence. Emerson Bainbridge for good and ill – and there was more of the former than the latter – was a man of his time. Even so, and despite the tendency of obituary notices to flatter, the overall accomplishments of this neglected Yorkshire business man remain impressive and we cannot entirely dismiss the view of contemporaries as to his philanthropic activities, notably his commitment to the Sheffield Y.M.C.A. over many years and his benefaction to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. So perhaps his Sheffield obituary writer had some reason when he warmly concluded in May 1911: ‘active and shrewd as Mr. Bainbridge was as a man of business, it was as a philanthropist that he impressed those with whom he was most closely brought in to contact. He felt deeply the responsibilities of a great employer of labour’ – though that was no more than one might have expected of such a man on such an occasion.⁷⁴

⁷⁴*SDT*, 13 May 1911.

COMMUNICATION

PRIVATE MARK YEWDALL 764281, 28TH BATTALION, LONDON REGIMENT, (ARTISTS' RIFLES) AND THE BATTLE OF PASSCHENDAELE

By David Eastwood

Mark Yewdall's ancestors had lived in the Eccleshill – Calverley area since at least 1556. Although his Methodist and Quaker background could have given cause to appeal as a conscientious objector, he joined the Army in 1916 as a private in the Artists' Rifles. His letters to his parents give an exceptionally vivid account of his training and active service, in particular the last stages of the Battle of Passchendaele. He died in the Spanish Influenza epidemic the following year.

At the age of 36, Mark Yewdall was an unlikely soldier. Born of a prosperous middle-class family in Calverley, he did not enlist in a flush of high-minded glorious patriotism as so many of his contemporaries did. Rather, with his religious background, he could easily have pleaded conscientious objection, although having Quaker ancestors would not have protected him from conscription. His distant ancestor, Zachariah Yewdall, was converted to Quakerism in the middle of the seventeenth century. His descendants stuck to that faith for over a century until another Zachariah became a Methodist travelling preacher in 1779. This Zachariah's nephew, William, was well known in the Eccleshill – Calverley area for his work in the Methodist church, and William's son, David (Mark Yewdall's grandfather), was a founder and stalwart of the United Methodist Free Church in Eccleshill. Mark's sister, Ellen, was tireless in her voluntary work – chapel every Sunday, running the chapel Sunday School, and also acting as the keeper of the family conscience by researching their ancestry.

Ellen spasmodically kept a diary. She did not write regularly until 1914 and, when Mark was conscripted and began to write home, she carefully copied the important bits of his letters, nearly fifty in total, into a notebook. The original letters do not seem to have survived, but Mr J. P. Yewdall, the owner of the family papers, has kindly allowed me full use of Ellen's transcripts, and what follows is Mark's account of his military service, taken from his letters to his parents, Zechariah and Emma, and from Ellen's diary.

The Yewdall family detested the war. Even before it was formally declared, rumours abounded. 'A strange day, talk of war, too disturbed to go out', Ellen wrote on 2 August 1914. Two weeks later she was kept awake by a hundred troop trains passing through from Scotland to London. In May 1915 she mentioned the work done in France and Belgium by Quaker conscientious objectors, many of them personal friends: 'one feels it is indeed a spark to keep Youth in the world in this fearful time – I can't help feeling proud that those lads are my representatives – it keeps despare [*sic*] away.' She returned to the subject in March 1916. 'Tribunals are busy with people seeking exemption from

Military Service – young Friends having searching time ... how any can call them Cowards I don't know. They will be strong men in future.' Two months later she referred to Edward Grubb¹ who was imprisoned 'for pamphlets published by No Conscription Fellowship – what are we coming to?'

Mark's turn for conscription came at the end of 1916. As a bank clerk, he could not claim to be in a reserved occupation, although the bank tried without success to get him exempted. Only the previous year he had been declared medically unfit, by virtue of an attack of shingles some years before, which had left him with weak eyesight, but the mounting casualties necessitated the lowering of standards. He was in a moral dilemma. Should he appeal on conscientious and/or medical grounds, or reluctantly accept? Ellen summed up his agonised hours of thought.

He is in agreement with us – (C.O.'s) but did not appeal as a C.O. for one reason, says he could not go through with it, but mostly he says he knows so many who have just the same feeling of the wickedness of war as he has, & yet have been left? He knows the wickedness of war, uselessness, the folly, he knows it could have been avoided ...

Mark felt acutely the death of his friends. While still at the Bank in Nottingham he wrote in the first letter Ellen copied, 'It is simply sickening losing all the people one likes. Anyone who can say the war ought to go on to a finish must be a selfish monster. How can it matter who is victorious if one has lost all one's friends?' One such friend he mentioned was named Osman, a Second Lieutenant in the West Yorkshire Regiment, who was ordered to 'the unspeakable front' where life expectancy in the trenches was measured in weeks. 'He knows he will be killed, they all are ... It is a wicked shame, he plays most beautifully and composes too.' As for himself, Mark was fatalistic. He told his mother in a letter just before Christmas 1916 that she should not worry. 'At my age it really doesn't much matter one way or another. The ones I grieve about are the young ones just beginning life.'

By January 1917 Mark had begun his basic training. Unused as he was to physical exertion, it was hard going.

At 6.30 we get up off our boards & blankets & walk half-dressed in the freezing snow to the wash-place. Breakfast at 7, after which buttons & metal-work (an endlessly weary job) and then dress up for parade at 8.45. First we stand for half an hour in the bitter cold with the snow & rain ceaselessly falling ... Then the drill begins, such hard work. After an hour the physical drill begins. We strip to our shirts and freeze & oh the exercises & the dreadful running. We ran for [a] mile along the road this morning – we older ones had to drop out. Then came the squad drill once more until lunch at 1 o/c. At 2 o/c the hateful bayonet drill, then squad drill once again & now at 4 o/c thank God, tea & rest in the canteen. I ache in every limb ... [8 January 1917]

In contrast, he quite enjoyed the 'fatigues' in the Sergeants' Mess, where he just had to sweep, clean, wash up and wait at dinner. The job of Hut Orderly was much less liked, because everything needed had to be carried from the stores, and there was no rest from 6.40 a.m. until bed at 10 p.m. Moreover, Mark, fresh from civilian life, could see the contrast.

I see in the papers more talk about restricting civilian food. Such humbug makes me sick. If only I dare tell you of the frightful, wanton & avoidable waste that goes on here, you would understand why. Everything is of the best – bacon, sugar, veget[able]s, beef,

¹ Grubb was a prominent member of the Society of Friends who explicitly opposed the war at considerable personal cost.

etc, & I should say quite half of what is bought is wasted. Much of it simply burnt, not put in swill tubs ... [3 February 1917]

The shortage of men for the Front was so great that after only a month, Mark's intake was warned for France and kitted out. 'Everything we possess in the military world was on our backs!' he wrote [Monday 12 February 1917]. Five days later, after a smooth crossing in a ship packed with thousands of men, horses, mules and guns, he was in France with the 2nd Artists' Rifles, living thirteen to a small tent on a 'huge sea of mud'. Then the military organisation seems to have broken down. After three days at the first transit camp, they paraded in the dark and were loaded on to a long convoy of lorries for a four-hour journey. Then, soaked with rain, they had a forced march to a second camp near Rouen where there were no facilities. 'I am utterly spent', wrote Mark.

And my right knee seems to have given way, and both my feet are done, so I am a hobbling wreck ... there is the greatest indignation at raw recruits being treated in this way ... All the meals that have been provided today is one cup of tea for dinner!! Everything else we buy ... Every limb & joint in my body is aching. If only the war-mongers in every land could go thro' all that we innocent ones have to endure! [20 February 1917]

They spent five days travelling before reaching their final barracks, inherited from the French army and quite close to the front. 'It was very interesting coming up the line', he told his mother, 'each camp we came to or passed was more warlike & earnest.' He claimed that his whole life was spent on docks, trains and railway goods yards, struggling for food in the crush of soldiery at the canteens. 'I have fought with the keenest to get a single orange!'

The work at the new barracks was much easier. Mark's unit was still virtually raw and untrained, and they were treated as such. 'We are not really a fighting unit at all', he told his father.

If I liked I could probably stay here for the duration of the war. Many will do so. Our duties will be endless fatigues & guard duty. When the King or President or C-in-C etc comes, it is always we who form the Guard of Honour. Others again will, after a time, go in for Commissions at the school here. I wish never to see the front so I shall try to stay here. [6 March 1917]

As soon as they reached the last camp, Mark went down with a touch of pleurisy, but was back on his feet by early March and enjoying his recuperation. The local town was out of bounds, but the scenery from the hillside was lovely in the early spring warmth. It reminded him of the hills at Harewood near Leeds. But he was very short of money. No water was provided except at breakfast and dinner when tea was given. Everything else had to be bought – cleaning and washing materials, drinks (even water), writing paper, even soft rags and dusters to clean his rifle – 'a dirty greasy thing, and is always having to be cleaned.' [1 April 1917] And after two weeks in France, he had received only five francs pay, which in modern terms was about 17 new pence and insufficient to meet all his needs. However he was luckier than many, having wealthy parents who were only too glad to send money and necessities he could not buy locally. Mark suggested about £3 a month in small denomination notes, at the exchange rate of 28 francs per pound.

Unfortunately the pleurisy recurred, probably as a result of having to unload supplies at the first camp, starting at 4 a.m. and working all day. It presented as a constant severe pain in his left side, and he was sent to what he described as a clean, quiet, comfortable field hospital, where he spent his time reading and writing his letters

home until he was discharged cured on 16 March, but promptly went down with a bad attack of depression. The arrival of seven letters all at once cheered him up, as did the gift of a 'Green Envelope'. This was a concession to trusted men, in that the letter would be subject to little or no censorship. The penalties for trying to evade censorship were severe and two men he knew were under arrest for trying: 'they deserved it, too', he said. There was no chance of leave until the men had served at least a year. 'I pity my poor country if the war lasts that long', wrote Mark to his mother on 1 April.

Food supplies always seemed to be a problem. Mark hinted that the official rations were less than adequate, but there were rumours that the authorities were about to stop food parcels being sent from England. 'I am not surprised', he wrote to his father on 7 April, '... as so many here (& doubtless elsewhere) get enormous supplies of all sorts sent out – e.g. potted meats, fruit, confectionery. We are able to have agreeable lunches on it all, but I think it is unreasonable at such a time, still I hope kind friends will keep up a steady if modest supply to me!' As it was, Mark's parents kept up a steady stream of parcels of money, cakes, socks, underclothes, soap and various sorts of cleaning materials, most of which eventually reached their destination in spite of the vagaries of the army postal services – one parcel went to four different places although it was correctly addressed.

Mark had a strange feeling of being further from the war than his parents. The troops had less information about the war than people in England, who at least had the usual newspapers, which were not regularly available to the troops. He commented on this in a letter just before Easter. 'I have, I think, never mentioned the war – because I thought you might think we knew anything about it here being so near. As a matter of fact one hears very little ... I have also seen many of the poor chaps who have been thro' the Hell.'

There were even times when, off duty, he could relax in the warm spring sunshine and forget that he would soon have to fight, until the sound of war interrupted his day-dreams.

Bright blue sky and warm sun, tho' cool breeze – in the middle of our drill this morning an aeroplane appeared in the bright sun, high up, this occurs every day – but today, little puffs of white & brown began to surround it. We realised our guns were busy. Then began a wonderful sight and sound, but it always slipped behind a fleecy cloud to return in 10 minutes. We were obviously its objective and had to take cover. But the guns again won & it disappeared, but was brought down, I hear, later on. [21 April 1917]

Meanwhile the training continued, though to modern eyes it appears oddly unbalanced. After nearly four months in a rifle battalion, Mark had not actually fired a weapon and was still looking forward to firing on the range. This, in spite of being in a unit which was primarily an Officer Training Unit and in which a high proportion of the men were expected to be commissioned in due course. Mark's social background meant that he was likely to be asked to take a commission. He had the education, was physically fit and not too old, but his private opinions of the war remained unchanged.

I am going to suppose that I shall be asked. The point is, what shall I say? In the past, many have declined & have remained here indefinitely – but I think things are rapidly changing now ... weeks in the trenches ... when we have lost some of our learners ... After all, when one is engaged in a miserable war that no one believes in, one doesn't feel inclined to go thro' the worst horrors if they can fairly and honourably be avoided. We used to hope that civil opinion would have compelled a peace by now – or does it

still believe in some vague & tremendous military success at some future date? [21 April 1917]

Mark's mention of the trenches is interesting, because although virtually untrained by any modern standards, his unit was taking its turn to man the forward lines to give the front line fighting units a rest, and in May 1917 he admitted to having had a whiff of gas, leaving him with an irritating cough. He admitted that the thought of being turned into a front line fighting unit made him feel ill. However he was beginning to feel slightly more optimistic about the progress of the war. 'All of us agree that the enemy is in a desperate way. As for wretched Austria!' [11 May 1917]

Luck came Mark's way in June. Every army unit needs its own administrative sections, and he and four other men were put into running the canteen. The advantage was that they had every afternoon off and did not have to join in the physical and bayonet drill. This lasted a fortnight, then in complete contrast he became a regimental policeman! For Mark this was almost a 'phoney' war, and it could not last. In July his battalion was moved in stages much nearer the actual fighting. He could not sleep for the nightly bombardment of the great guns and the lighting up of the night skies. Even there he heard at dawn 'one or two larks tried to do a little pitiful singing as the guns stopped.' [undated, received 9 July 1917]

In the next two days, they moved to the forming-up areas near Arras just behind the front line and he described the scene of desolation:

... now we are just behind the great Drama. It is high upland & for miles & miles one sees a ruined country – blasted trees, utterly demolished villages, a gaunt disembowelled church tower, a ridiculous gable standing divorced from roof or walls, rank weeds growing where beautiful cornfields have been, horrid little railways tumbling over every mound endlessly puffing, puffing up the gradual incline to the edge of the ridge where the big guns are. All this deplorable scene is crowded with camps of all sorts – horses, men, huts, tents, reservoirs & hideous war engines & is crowned by flocks of aeroplanes & observation balloons - & (mocking, surely) is smiled on by a bright sun & kept sweet by a bracing breeze ... Not very far from here is a sad sight – a dead town, you know it very well, a noble Town Hall on a high eminence mortally wounded, dumb (as Shakespeare would say) factory chimneys & stillness overall. And this is the outcome of madness or worse of a few 'men' throughout the world! I ache at times with hunger – drinks are interdit entirely & cigarettes hard to get. [9 July 1917]

Existence was dreadful even for those not in the trenches. Mark described the daily programme to his mother.

At 5 a.m. one rose off the hard floor, aching & stiff. In a fearful crush worked at top speed to wash, shave, clean buttons, boots & dress – tramped thro' knee-deep muck to get water. After this mad race, one had a scramble for the food that was brought to the hut, sat on the floor to eat it & drink at 6 o/c. Completed toilet & rushed on parade at 7 o/c. From 7 to 11 (4 solid hours) was never off feet – drilling, e.g., firing orders, extended orders, judging distances, arms drill, physical drill, squad & section drill, etc, until one's arms & legs burnt & ached & one could only curse all creation. At 11 back to the hut, only to be collared for a short fatigue in the burning sun, a dinner (soi-disant) at 12 on the floor of course. At 1 o/c (some days) a long march to the baths & back again, 3.30 parade again, often muskets & firing at the range, at 6 o/c tea, at 7 o/c on a heavy digging fatigue. At 9 o/c, mere wrecks, we came back & were dragged on the roll-call parade – then dragged to our huts & lights out to sink into a stupor on the floor. How many of us do you suppose had any approval of this continuance of the war? [5 August 1917]

What made it even worse for Mark was his dislike, amounting to xenophobia, of the French. It was a common feeling among the British troops, who had close experience of the French but rarely encountered the enemy at close quarters.

One can only call them bloodsuckers & most ungrateful. I often hear the average Tommy express regret that Germany didn't get the whole place! When one thinks of the immorality, degradation & low uncivilised habits of these continental nations, one hates to think of our race coming & being contaminated by them. Also, all our men hate these people & have a contempt for them ... yet they are bound to take a lot of their barbarous ideas & manners back to our own land. [5 August 1917]

Only two weeks later Mark received an unexpected job, just before he was due to go to take his turn in the trenches. The local village of Anzin-St-Aubin, abandoned by its French inhabitants, was occupied entirely by the British army and was run by a young sub-lieutenant with the grandiose title of Town Major. He needed a clerk and Mark was chosen. He found himself with a comfortably furnished little office, a bed to sleep on, and even a table for his meals. The war, although so close, seemed further away from the horrors of days before when Mark had been on grenade practice in trenches recently captured from the Germans. 'It was horrible to see all sorts of human remains lying about, and the stench was sickening ... Two men today were driving a stake into the ground & evidently struck a buried bomb & were instantaneously killed', he wrote to his mother. His new job entailed *inter alia* inspecting billets of departing units for cleanliness and as he knew from bitter experience what it was like to find filthy billets at the end of an exhausting march, he made sure through personal inspection that everything was in order before he would certify the billets as acceptable. This meant actually a great deal of work, because the village was full of soldiers. Mark, who was not inclined to false modesty, described his work:

Wherever possible amid the sorry ruins a roof has been put on by the R.E.s (a wonderful body of men) & beds erected. Others are in dug-outs – deep & cosy – others in sheds, stables, cellars, breweries, in fact in every conceivable nook & cranny. I also have some really lovely baths under my control! Everybody has to come to me for everything & I have to cudgel my brains, long since addled, to fit things in to suit everybody, I can tell you. [24 July 1917]

The impression Mark created is that he was doing all the work of the Town Major. Meanwhile the rest of his platoon returned from the front line trenches.

I was sorry for them, they seemed altered, nerve-racked or something. One & all spoke with dread of the experience & were not looking forward to the next visit. This I am told is often the effect of the first time up there. The guns are specially active & angry tonight – some big stunt on. [24 July 1917]

The official title of the battle that Mark had so far almost escaped was the Third Battle of Ypres; it is perhaps better known in Britain as Passchendaele, and it was waged from 31 July until mid-November 1917, a long slow slog of mud and blood at huge cost in casualties. Unfortunately for Mark, his light job as Town Major's Clerk was soon taken away. Being fit, he was replaced by a man of lower physical standard. He spent one night at HQ and went to the front line trenches on 23 August, for three miles pushing one of the little railway trucks used for supplies. He was so exhausted that he lay down on the firing step and fell asleep in the din of machine gun bullets whistling overhead and some heavy artillery trying to range down on the British lines. The next day, during a slight lull, he managed to write to his mother.

Oh my dear, it is awful, these terrible things come whizzing through the air & burst

with incredible force in front of the trench & sometimes just behind it. So far, luck has kept them out of this one, but for how long? Of course there are all the other kinds of guns to contend with as well. When we have had a strafing, every muscle & nerve in my body is trembling and shaken. Foolish people who talk about smashing the enemy should come into the front trench for an hour tonight & stand with me when it is my turn to be sentry & stand with my head above the parapet ... One of our horrid duties in the deep of darkness when the inferno is at its worst is to climb 'over' & clean up any rubbish etc. The hideous snipers 'ping' at us but one only laughs at them, they never get us, & if they did it would only mean a 'Blighty', which we all pray for.

The next day was a Saturday and Mark's platoon was in a good deep dugout captured from the Germans. In it he felt 'cosy & safe', although there were always casualties:

... we lose someone every day. He is generally blown to atoms, so knows no agony – except of mind. But somehow I personally feel safe ... Wonderful isn't it? Tho' this can't be so much longer, naturally I have come across bodies when digging. The smell is awful but friends keep me well supplied with scent – a boon to all soldiers. [written from 24 to 28 August 1917]

One dreads to think what the 'rubbish' actually was. Even Mark, not usually conscious of the probable effect of his letters on his mother, did not go into details, although he could be quite callous. 'We do naturally a lot of trench digging. For some reason I rather like it, but we often strike on a body & if it is fairly recently buried, the stench is truly awful, revolting. Today a man dug up a perfect skull. Quite clean and every tooth healthy & sound, quite a boy I should imagine. [Undated, mid-September 1917].

All the conditions the soldiers had to endure were dreadful. Even without the constant danger of death – sudden or lingering – Mark's letters are full of horrifying details:

Pelting rain, soaked to the skin, covered in mud. We live in an underworld at present. Candle light all day long. Of course it is frightfully unwholesome, & smells, filth, insects and rats. It is simply hateful being the target of these villainous shells & in the trenches last night one only just missed us. I was covered in earth from it & the stinking hot vapour came all in my face.

Clothing or its lack was always a problem. His parents sent frequent parcels with socks and arranged to his own specification a fine pair of soft boots from Saxones in Leeds. As autumn wore on, the weather got even worse. 'It is pelting down', he wrote on 13 October,

... and the mud! – I could not possibly describe it. We are in tents since last Sunday, & all around is flood, mud, stinks & awfulness. There are 18 in this tent! You cannot move an inch & are lost in mud. It gets in food, on all clothes & on every possession ... I mentioned a shirt. I am reduced to one! & have worn it for several weeks without its being washed.

Many men, without the occasional luxury of parcels from home, began to suffer from lice. Mark remained fairly clean of them, thanks to powder from home, but several 'strangers' appeared even on him. Food was poor quality and irregular and front line men had only one pint of water a day for all meals, shaving & washing.

All this and the danger. 'Last night I received my first strafing', he wrote about 20 September.

They spotted the trench we were working in & for 20 minutes hundreds of shells poured over. In front, behind & both sides. We all crouched at the bottom. Heaven only knows why none fell in just where we were. The smell & dust & gusts of rushing air!

However he seemed to be virtually nerveless, even when a bullet actually hit him one night. He had fallen asleep too near the trench parapet ‘& was awakened by a crack on my helmet, which was over my face & sat up to see a venturesome figure slide back into the darkness. So now I have a little dent in my bonnet. Fortunately it is not an unfashionable form of trimming here ...’

By November the long-drawn-out grind of battle was nearing its close. Both sides had suffered and were continuing to suffer fearful casualties, but commanders could think only in terms of attack, hoping that ‘one more push’ would bring victory. However the Germans occupied a slight ridge and could observe all the preparations being made by the British, Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders. And when the order to advance was to be given, the first and worst obstacle was an expanse of marshy ground between them and what remained of the village of Passchendaele. At the end of October it was the turn of the Artists Rifles in the Royal Naval Division to join an attack and Mark, with his platoon, went ‘over the top’. On the Sunday night he and four others of his platoon were ordered to go through the wire into No-Man’s-Land to dig a hole. Why, they never knew, but they lay in it all night as it filled with stagnant water. Lieutenant Williams, their platoon commander, came for them at dawn, and at his command they all began to walk forward.

Suddenly the fury opened. Our barrage and theirs started simultaneously. We were only a few yards behind ours & I just had time to glance at lovely nature being made hideous by fiends. Behind in the West, a full moon setting, all the stars shining, just in front was a white mass of our fire, a hedge of explosions, & through the smoke a wonderful dawn coming – long streaks of gold & red & grey & all round us the German barrage (as strong as ours) & over all the vile stink of explosives. I had just taken it in as we wormed slowly forward, when the shell for our little party arrived & we fell in the hole. One friend of mine had his leg off & I had to see him slowly die as I couldn’t move.

That was dawn on the Monday, and the survivors of the Artists’ Rifles came out on the Wednesday. Only 156 were left of the battalion,

All others mown down & blown up before my eyes. Poor Mr Williams is killed, so is our dear Chaplain & our Captain – but I needn’t (& can’t go on) [*sic*] – only to say that 6 have come back in my platoon ... For miles & miles the enemy shells cover every inch of ground. That is the truth. You are in a shell-hole one minute, the next moment it has gone & another almost in its place. One can only rage at the system that employs infantry in a war of shells. And people that can say that anything is worth it can only be devils. Every step took one over the knees in gripping slime. I saw many sucked down & drowned & I had near escapes myself. A shell blew my section into a shell-hole – all wounded but me. For hours we lay there with thousands & thousands of shells all over & round us & covering us with debris, but none came right in. Why, I daren’t ask. I had a terrible time with the wounded – they kept sinking into the slime & I had to pile rifles & haversacks & equipment – anything – under them in order to save them. In desperation we struggled out at last & wallowed & struggled in the open to the aid-post & eventually to the dressing station. It was a fearful distance & shells covered it all. I had to go back again later, & so it went on.

When the few survivors were eventually withdrawn, they were faced with a four-hour walk to a camp, being shelled and bombed all the way, to be greeted with hot soup, tea, plenty to eat and a huge dram of rum. Then ‘the joy of sleep once more

after three nights' [2 November 1917]². Passchendaele Ridge itself fell on 10 November after 156 days of useless slaughter.

The regiment was withdrawn to rest and re-equip to Bollezeele and Mark had a little leisure to collect his thoughts. Until Passchendaele his attitude towards the German enemies had been coloured by official propaganda and his own xenophobic prejudices, but his experiences had brought a profound change of mind.

We were all pleased with the way they observed our Red Cross parties & how good they were to the wounded. Sometimes they would even direct our men to our wounded & help them, & lots of acts of humanity were witnessed that were not 'obligatory' in war ... We had very different instructions from that the night before we went in ... All soldiers I ever speak to are disgusted with the tales spread about at home about the 'wickedness' of Germans – they are merely propaganda by interested devils. [18 November 1917]

Some survivors were recognised for promotion, but Mark was quite satisfied when he was made batman to a new officer just arrived from England. The 'perks' were well worth having – hardly any parades, plenty of good food, little hard work, soap (a real luxury) – and the parcels were coming again from home, with plenty of socks, cake, a welcome pair of mittens, apples, parkin – the comforts of home.

Ellen copied no more of Mark's letters for nearly a year. He enjoyed a fortnight's leave in March and the next news of him came in October 1918, when he wrote to give her his congratulations on her birthday. As it was also the anniversary of his surviving Passchendaele, he had an enjoyable meal in a nearby town. He had tried to invite any other survivors – there was only one other, a sergeant in another company some kilometres away!

On Saturday 9 November 1918, Mark's father came back happily from Leeds and as he opened the door, he called out 'Mark is all right, there will be no more fighting.' The next day, Ellen received a postcard from Mark in Douai, saying he was on the way to hospital, but not bad. The Armistice was signed on the Monday, 'buzzers went, church bells rang, people rejoiced' but Ellen could not celebrate. It was all too late, she hated the noise and could only weep as she washed dusters in the cellar.

They got a telegram on Tuesday 12 November. Mark's condition was critical. Zechariah tried to get permission to go out to him, but the next they heard was on 16 November. Mark had died on the 13th. It was of course the Spanish Influenza, which killed tens of millions of people. By a savage irony, one of them was a man who had been through the horrors of trench war, to die from a virus too small to be seen. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission lists him in the Military Cemetery at Etaples, Pas de Calais. Private M. Yewdall, Service Number 764281, 28th Battalion, London Regiment (Artists' Rifles). Date of Death, 13 November 1918.

² Extracts from this letter were used in Malcolm Brown, *The Imperial War Museum Book of 1918, Year of Victory* (Sidgwick & Jackson, 1998).

A CENTURY OF YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY 1900–2000: THE KITSON CLARKS OF MEANWOODSIDE AND BEYOND

By C. Stephen Briggs

INTRODUCTION

The death of Mary Chitty (born Kitson Clark) early in 2005 marks the end of one Yorkshire family's service to northern archaeology and British history covering much of the twentieth century. The narrative which follows is intended to celebrate that service by offering a tribute to the contributions made by Mary and her father Edwin. Offering no more than basic introductions to some of the subject-matter, it draws upon a rapid literature search, published bibliographies, and to a limited degree on manuscript material. This, it is hoped, may stimulate others to undertake a more deservedly in-depth study, or studies of the Kitson Clarks, their home and history writing, their foundry and legacy to Yorkshire's education and welfare.

Anna Mary Hawthorn Kitson Clark died at Llangwnadl, on the Lleyn Peninsula in North Wales, 1 February 2005. Probably the Society's longest-lived member, she was born in Leeds on 14 May 1905, the only daughter and youngest child of Edwin (1866–1943) and Georgina Kitson Clark (1864–1954). Her elder brother Edwin (Win) entered the Navy at fifteen and served in both Wars. But in their lifetimes Mary's contribution to scholarship was overshadowed by that of her brother George (1900–1975: N. Gash in *ODNB*), who had an international reputation as a scholar and teacher of nineteenth-century history at Cambridge.

LIEUT-COL EDWIN KITSON CLARK, T.D., M.A., F.S.A. (Fig. 1)

The Kitson Clarks of Meanwoodside were a thoroughly professional industrialist family with strong academic leanings. Although well-to-do by the standards of the day, their finances were not always as secure as might have been desired, or indeed as they may have outwardly appeared. Some money came through Mary's paternal grandmother from the operations of the Airedale Foundry, Hunslet where, by 1900, three generations of Kitsons had practised locomotive engineering since 1838 (Clark 2004 [website]; Clark E. K.1938). Her mother also inherited Bidder money. As well as being an engineer, Edwin became a respected antiquary.

Born on 13 April 1866, Edwin Kitson Clark was the son of E. C. Clark, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, who himself published on historical subjects. All four grandparents were Yorkshire folk. Edwin became head boy of Shrewsbury School, gained a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge and took a first in the Classics Tripos in 1888 before serving his engineering apprenticeship at the Airedale Foundry. There, he was briefly a shop foreman before being appointed works manager to the family firm in 1890. Becoming a partner from 1897, when it became a Limited Company, he took up a directorship, and later, the chair. Testimony to the quality of



Fig. 1. Edwin Kitson Clark (Kitson Clark family archive)

British nineteenth-century manufacture, surviving examples of Kitsons' railway engines are today scattered around the world (Clark 2004 [website]; Rolt 1964). As grandson of one of its builders, Edwin more than once took the footplate of *Lion*, a refurbished locomotive of 1838, the second time being for the London and Birmingham centenary celebrations at Euston Station, London, in 1938. These Clarks adopted 'Kitson' around the turn of the century to emphasise the foundry connection. And because Edwin was a family name, he was familiarly known as 'E. K.'

'E. K.' was commissioned in the 8th Battalion West Yorkshires (Leeds Rifles) early in his life and became Commanding Officer 1913 to 1915. From 1915 to 1918 he was in charge of the 49th [Division] Base Depot in France. He raised the O. T. C. at Leeds University, commanding it for four years, and was awarded the Territorial Decoration

(T.D.; Anon.1943b; 1944; Turberville 1943).

Immediately the First World War was over, he was elected a member of the Institution of Locomotive Engineers. He served as its President for the session 1921-22 and was later awarded its Gold Medal. Committed to engineering education, he gave several addresses to the Leeds Railway Guild and was Chairman of the Institution's Local Centre. He contributed two Papers to the Institution's *Proceedings* (Clark 1920; 1921), and later, his Presidential Address (Clark 1930). His Presidential Address to the Institution of Mechanical Engineers on 'Hammers' (Clark 1931) was apparently 'both original and extremely interesting' (Anon 1943).

Kitson's of Leeds: 1837-1937, an original study commemorating the firm's centenary, appeared under Edwin's name in 1938. It records the production of hundreds of orthodox locomotives and gives an account of their Steam Tramway Engines, the Kitson-Meyer Articulated Locomotive and the Kitson-Still (a combination of oil and steam) Locomotives, tested in 1933 (Anon. 1943). Unfortunately, this work did not enjoy the currency it deserved as the greater part of the printed stock fell casualty to wartime bombing.

Antiquarian and archaeological interests came early. Aged fourteen, Edwin was a founding member of the Thoresby Society (Clark 1941a). At seventeen, in 1883, he received a letter from Tatton Sykes of Sledmere, inviting him to see a barrow-opening by J. R. Mortimer (YAS MS MD Box 1, Bundle 8. 66; for Mortimer see L. V. Grinsell rev. I. H. Longworth in *DNB*). Thirteen years on, at the time of his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, he was editing material on the history of Leeds for the Thoresby Society. Leeds was to dominate his researches, and its publishing outlets offered various platforms for him to educate, practise or write about archaeology, classical studies and engineering.

He joined the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1889 and was a Vice President at the time of his death (Anon. 1944). When elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in June 1896, the citation noted his excellence in the Classics and mentioned contributions to the Thoresby Society (unpubl. election blue paper, Soc. Antiqs London). This was an understatement, since his polymathic interests included excavating prehistoric sites (Clark 1900a; 1902) and developing theories about their relationships to natural features and potential early routeways (Clark 1911; 1921). Curiosity about the availability and properties of raw materials led him to experiment at the Airedale Foundry by casting lead axes to better understand Later Bronze Age technology (Clark 1905). Letters of 1908 and 1914 (YAS MD 446 box 1, bundle 8, no. 24 and Box 3, no. 36) from the ageing Canon William Greenwell (1820-1918: Arthur Burns in *ODNB*) testify to their acquaintance and mutual interest in pigmy flints and ancient sources of copper. They may have met through J. R. Mortimer.

As a classicist Edwin was well-equipped to translate medieval and later documents (Clark 1895a) like those illustrating the history of Kirkstall Abbey (Clark 1895b). He wrote the history of Leeds Parish Church (Clark 1931) not just as a devout Christian, but most appropriately as one of its eight Churchwardens for 25 years. His descriptive book on Harfleur and its church (1916) also came from a close familiarity with its subject, that study. This was the outcome of time spent there as a soldier during the First World War. It is of some interest that at the very beginning of the twentieth century, a time when organised protest or conservation campaigning for the historic environment was rare at the local level, he ventured to challenge the city fathers of Leeds's decision to remove the Old Grammar School to make way for street-

widening (Clark 1900e) and in a related vein expressed concerns for the crumbling fabric of Kirkstall Abbey, given by its owner to Leeds Corporation in the nineteenth century (Clark 1905). It also says much of his reputation as a well-read Yorkshireman, that along with a number of the world's literary and political giants he was asked (as 'scholar and engineer') what he felt about the legacy of the Brontës' works shortly before he died (Anon. 1943a, 166).

Edwin's involvement with the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society began early in the 1890s. He was the 'Lit. and Phil.'s' sole or joint honorary secretary for 30 years and President 1906-9 (Leeds Lit. and Phil. website). Originally, the Society had its own museum and library, but as the museum became difficult to maintain, these collections were offered to Leeds Corporation to form the nucleus of a public collection. Edwin was involved in these negotiations, and during the 1930s both Mary and George were also active, at a time when the winter speakers' list included the names of some of the most distinguished literary and scientific personalities of the day. Edwin's correspondence and the family home visitors' book testify to the many he came to know better. It was probably from this 'Lit. and Phil.' platform that Edwin chaired the Old Leeds Exhibition for the City's Tercentenary Celebrations (Hirst 1926, 86, 93-4).

In addition, Edwin was President of Leeds Classical Society and belonged to The Yorkshire Association of Change Ringers. He appeared among the team in the tower of St Peter's Parish Church Leeds on Tuesday, 28 January 1936, the day George V was buried. They rang a peal of Stedman Triples with 5040 changes in 3 hours and 15 minutes (website). He was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of the County in 1937 (*The Times* 24 March 1937).

Edwin Kitson Clark died in 1943 within two days of his seventy-seventh birthday. One obituarist made it clear what a remarkable human being he had been, as at ease with foundrymen as with philosophers (Turberville 1943). Leeds Parish Church still preserves three small bronze plaques commemorating Edwin, Ina, and the couple's lives together (Anna Georgina Chitty, *pers comm.*) During his later years, the foundry's fortunes had been chequered. It went into Receivership in 1934 and out of the locomotive business in 1938, only to be asset-stripped before closure in late 1945. It was finally wound up in 1951 and its assets bought out by McClarens of Luton (Clark, E. F. *pers comm.*).

DR 'INA' KITSON CLARK:

WOMEN'S WELFARE AND LADIES' EDUCATION

Mary's Kitson Clark's mother Georgina or 'Ina', born Bidder, was a Slade-trained painter, a dramatist and talented thespian. Ina's grandfather, George Parker Bidder was known in his youth as 'The Calculating Prodigy' (Clark 1983; *ODNB* H. T. Wood rev. E. F. Clark) and his works had already made a signal contribution to engineering theory. She brought learning and achievement to the parental partnership in equal measure. Although her ambition to paint was thwarted by social convention, she practised music, and published a host of plays, anthems, songs or hymns. At least four plays were copyrighted and these, like much of her unpublished creative writing, included elements of biblical or historical fact and tradition. *The Wharfedale Witches*, for example, was based on Thomas Fairfax's *Daemonologia* of 1622 (Clark, I, 1935). It is said to have had a mixed reception on first performance at the Meanwood Women's Institute because many of the play's Jacobean characters' names were shared by its audience. Ina's dramatic and musical output would be well worth



Fig. 2. Meanwoodside, probably c 1920 (Kitson Clark family archive)

studying for its sociological interest.

Strongly committed to educational reform, Ina was a founder member of the Yorkshire Ladies' Council for Education, a body today still pursuing its original ideals (Jenkins 1978). She was associated with the Yorkshire Federation for Maternity and Child, Yorkshire Homes for Mothers and Babies and the National Baby Council, and her vision to improve post-natal care for all, as well as the less advantaged, was realised through a charitable venture in Leeds known as "Babies' Welcomes". In the Leeds Tercentary Volume for 1926, a piece entitled 'How our Health is Safeguarded' explained how: 'The Babies' Welcome Association was the first body to interest itself in Maternity and Child Welfare in this city. It was inaugurated in 1912 and amalgamated with the Corporation in 1916. Prior to amalgamation, it had established 6 centres in various parts of the city.' By 1926 there were 18 well-staffed centres in an organisation which retained its voluntary character by maintaining the centres, whilst the Corporation paid for staff and medical equipment (Hirst 1926, 157, 159). Ina was awarded a D.Litt. *Hon. Causa* by the University of Leeds in 1928 for her work on women's welfare.

MEANWOODSIDE

Mary's parents first rented Meanwoodside, their future home, late in 1903, from the Oates family, before buying it in 1917 (Caspersen and Hopwood 1986, 57-9). It was a quite typical Victorian house (Fig. 2) begun in 1838 by Edward Oates and based on the outbuildings of a seventeenth-century farm. He went on to develop the modest farmland into a large parkland estate of perhaps 17 acres. Although then more peripheral than today, the estate lay within 3 miles (c 5 km) of Leeds city centre.



Fig. 3. Mary Kitson Clark with Christine Kitson in St Chad's Cell, an arbour or folly on the terrace outside Meanwoodside, c. 1915 (Kitson Clark family archive)

The house was large with a conservatory. Originally it had stone-flagged kitchens and a complement of domestic staff. It boasted kitchen and herb gardens, terrace, lawns, follies, summerhouses, bridges – all the accoutrements of a Victorian estate. Some classical pillars acquired by Oates from the demolition of Mill Hill Chapel were incorporated into a landscaping plan (Sheeran 1990, 154–6; Treen 1995) focused around the Adel Beck, which often stank of effluent from an old tannery nearby. It is possible that ‘St Chad’s Cell’, a folly or open summerhouse in which Mary and her cousin were photographed c. 1915 (Fig. 3), was also built of materials from a demolished chapel or church.

Oates excavated a lake (now largely silted up) and there were millstones for stepping over the beck’s shallows. Planted with mature woodland, including an American Garden, imaginatively created by Oates from 1834 to 1841 and later (Treen 1995), the park still retains a Tulip-tree (Casperson and Hopwood 1986, 60). Not only the usual staff quarters, but even the Meanwood Women’s Institute building fell within its estate boundary. Those features known to the Kitson Clarks are marked on a coloured plan of 1940, presented by Ina to Mary in a photograph album recording how the estate had appeared and developed since the family took custodianship. Its horticultural and arboricultural components would appear to have been kept up and managed, latterly with some difficulty, until sometime soon after the Second World War.

Reflecting on her upbringing at Meanwoodside in a conversation with the writer in 2000, Mary conveyed how much she appreciated the privilege she had enjoyed there. Soon before her mother’s death, in 1954 it was sold to Leeds Corporation for £6,000. After briefly toying with the idea of using it as a sort of memorial museum to the gallant Capt. L. E. G. Oates, of Scott’s last Antarctic expedition fame, the Corporation took fright at the building’s maintenance costs and promptly demolished it (Casperson and Hopwood 1986). Nowadays, Meanwood Park is a green jewel in the City’s recreational crown, where the hand of Oates is still detectable (Treen 1995) and which also preserves something of the landscape the Kitson Clarks developed and maintained for half a century. Edwin and Ina’s occupancy is commemorated by a small column mounted plaque which today survives near where the house stood (E. F. Clark, *pers comm.*).

MARY KITSON CLARK

Mary was initially educated at home by a governess in a local group. This included cousins taken in by the family because of the First World War. From the age of twelve she attended Leeds Girls’ High School. She appears to have developed an interest in archaeology at an early age, and according to Gilks (1973, 41, fn 5) joined Arthur Raistrick on a dig in Elbolton Cave at the age of fifteen – perhaps her first excavation (Murphy 2003 [website]). Then she spent four stimulating years at Girton College, Cambridge (1923–7). There, her college tutor was Dr. M. G. Jones. ‘I was terrified of her at first, and loved her dearly afterwards’, she recalled in her photograph album of college life. She took the Cambridge History Tripos followed by a year studying English Archaeology tutored by Miss M. M. (Maureen) O’Reilly, and attending lectures on the Palaeolithic given by Miles Burkitt. Had she not been pipped at the post by Gerald Clough Dunning for the Franks Scholarship at University College, London, it is possible that like her brother George, she may have become a full-time academic.

After coming down from Cambridge in 1927, she settled into a busy life, spending the next fifteen years catalysing and promoting the growth and understanding of the Romano-British occupation in Northern England and beyond. This was achieved principally through involvement with two institutions: The Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Yorkshire Philosophical

Society discussed below. But Mary was also active serving on the Thoresby Society's Committee, and in the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, the journal of which became a welcome repository for some of the growing number of Romano-British research papers showered on the archaeological periodical press by members of her circle.

During these formative post-graduate years, Mary continued to educate herself in matters Etruscan, prehistoric and Romano-British. She travelled widely outside Britain to gain a better understanding of archaeology and its methods. In 1929 (on 29 January) *The Times* announced that the Cambridge Archaeology Faculty Board had nominated her to the British School at Jerusalem. There, she joined an all-women team under Dorothy Garrod (*ODNB*: Jane Callendar) to excavate Palaeolithic sites at Athlit, near Mount Carmel in what was then Palestine. She wholeheartedly admired Garrod who was 'kind and just [as a boss], as a companion delightful – she had a strong sense of humour and a widely cultivated mind. As a prehistorian, her knowledge was vast, her powers of observation exact and meticulous, and her dedication complete' (Clark 1998). By 2000, when Mary was the only surviving member of the digging team, she was feted on the website about Garrod, where she appears on a contemporary photo of the diggers (though is unrecognisable), and is quoted as saying that Garrod had been 'small, dark and alive' (Smith online paper).

Among fellow archaeologists working in Palestine at that time – some of whom became well-known in their various fields – was C. N. Johns (1906–1991), a medievalist specialising in Crusader Castles with whom she maintained a lifelong friendship. She also met Derwas Chitty then excavating on the monastery of St Euthymius in the Judean Desert (published in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 1928–31). As things were to turn out, this was a prescient visit.

THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES COMMITTEE FOR YORKSHIRE

'The Roman Antiquities Committee for Yorkshire' (RACY) had been established in 1906. Initially made up of 60 representatives from 17 research and fieldwork groups, it enjoyed three years' independence until reconstituted in July 1909 as a sub-committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (the RAC). Edwin Kitson Clark was present at the inauguration. He was to be Treasurer from 1923–37 and Mary its Secretary from 1929 until 1943, sometimes alone, sometimes jointly. In later life Mary thoroughly researched the RACY-RAC (Chitty 1986–7), and what follows is a very abbreviated account drawn mainly from hers, which gave valuable personal insights into the Committee's origins, development and achievements. Ottaway (2003, 127–30) offers complementary detail on contemporary excavations and a more up-to-date perspective of the RAC's place in the development of Northern archaeology.

Mary's credo for progressing the Committee's broad agenda owed much to a lecture she had read of Prof. Francis Haverfield's, given at its inaugural meeting in 1906. Having emphasised how Yorkshire could contribute much to Roman studies both military and civil, he had stressed the need to coordinate research between university academics (principally then at Leeds and Sheffield), to unite professional and amateur in the field, and to integrate bibliographical studies and fieldwork.

Joining a group of well-established archaeological scholars, Mary took office when 'archaeological research in Yorkshire was at a low ebb' (Manby 1971, vi), though at a time of increasing activity for Romano-British research. Templeborough fort had been excavated in 1915 in advance of building Steel, Peach and Tozer's munitions factory near Rotherham. It was promptly published (May 1922) and may arguably be claimed

the first well-controlled large-scale rescue excavation on a Roman fort. On another front, F. G. Simpson started a five-year campaign at the Cawthorn Camps on the North York Moors, in 1923 (Simpson 1926). It was re-investigated in 1999–2000 and has been conserved for education and access by the National Park Authority. In 1924 work there was supervised by a youthful Oxford student called I. A. (later Sir Ian) Richmond (1926–29) in the prologue to a long-lived partnership on Hadrian's Wall (for Richmond see *ODNB*: E. Birley, rev. M. Todd). By then, Simpson was digging at Scarborough Signal Station (Collingwood 1931) and in 1923 he turned his hand to the site on Filey Brigg. Dr. J. L. Kirk, the well-known Pickering collector and benefactor to the Castle Museum at York, was to dig the Crambeck pottery kiln site (Castle Howard) 1926–7 (Corder 1928). He was joined by Philip Corder on the defences of Roman Malton in 1926 (Corder and Kirk 1928), a venture which ran concomitant with the Rev C. V. Collier's dig on the Roman Villa at nearby Langton (Corder and Kirk 1932).

The west of the county attracted similar attention. In 1926 R. G. Collingwood joined Kirk at Brough-by-Bainbridge (Wensleydale) where Professor Droop of Liverpool supervised work until 1931 (Collingwood 1928; Droop 1932; Droop and Jones 1929–31). In 1928, Mellor and Kirk dug at Wetherby (Kent and Clark 1933), while S. N. Miller tackled York's Legionary defences 1925 and 1927 (Miller 1925–27).

The 1930s brought further excavations: Brough-on-Humber 1933–7 (Corder and Romans 1933–9), Rudston (Woodward and Steer 1935), Aldborough (1934 until 1939; Myres *et al* 1959), and their last pre-War project, not Roman, but the native Iron Age hillfort at Almondbury, Huddersfield, which was addressed by W. J. Varley (1976). War did not entirely curtail the Committee's vigour: members skirmished with Roman Catterick and its new Aerodrome (Hildyard 1957) and a bath house site at Well, near Boroughbridge in 1939–40 (Gilyard-Beer 1939). But all able-bodied younger men were soon to be unavailable. Several of the most senior activists died of old age 1939–43, whilst most others joined the War effort, making Roman Yorkshire a rare intellectual pursuit.

The fruits of the pre-War decade had, however, been remarkable, not least in the circulation of printed material, if not of full-blooded publications. The RAC produced eight typed quarto *Bulletins* between 1926 and 1929 (Bonser 1964, 392). Each included at least one article, usually an excavation report (YRAC 1926–9). Although not elected to the Committee until 1927, Mary seems to have had a hand in helping compile, if not edit, some of the later numbers. Between 1928 and 1932, four monographs were published on the Roman Malton area alone. Roman Yorkshire figured strongly in both national and local journal literature, and also enjoyed nascent newspaper coverage. Important steps were being taken to inform and involve a new public.

It was recognised during the preparation of exhibits for the Roman Malton Museum, that a basic sites and monuments record could better set them in their geographical and cultural contexts. Mary felt Cyril Fox's *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* of 1923 offered the appropriate methodology, so she modelled her *Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* of 1935 on it. Well received in review (Birley 1936), 'as a compendium of references to forts, roads, towns and other settlements, it remains indispensable to the study of Roman Yorkshire (Ottaway 2003, 129). Although her specific input is not always well recorded, Mary played a key role throughout her association with the RAC, one sometimes acknowledged in contemporary excavation reports. For example at Well she was thanked 'for constant help before, during and after the excavation' (Gilyard-Beer 1939, 342), and at Rudston, where her 'valuable



Fig. 4. Mary Kitson Clark c. 1940 (Kitson Clark family archive)

staff work' was complimented (Woodward and Steer 1938, 81). She also directed some excavations solo, though usually she investigated in partnership with others (at Aldborough with J. N. L. Myres 1934–5; and with K. A. Steer 1937–8).

Mary's background and personality were amply suited to her part in organising this research and seeing it published. Because her father was well-known, he could smooth the path with many a landowner who might otherwise have been coy about excavation; Mary's diplomacy helped keep the peace among the academics, and she and her father seem to have been adept fund-raisers.

Part of Mary's commitment to communication with the wider public, in lectures and day-schools through the 1930s, was enabled through the Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York (YPS), to which she was elected in 1928. Membership at that time was still stratified into members, associate members, and lady subscribers. She was only the second woman to gain full membership – in this she had been anticipated by the formidable York personality, K. T. Wilkinson. Lady members, however, remained a rarity for some time. Although today the Yorkshire Museum's website says nothing of its origins and history, until the 1960s that institution was run by its founder body, the YPS, from 1823.

Testimony to growing acceptance and respect, in 1939 Mary became a member of both its Museum Committee and Council (again, only the second woman to achieve the latter). By 1941 she was the society's unpaid full-time Curator of Roman Antiquities and in that capacity presented its Council with a report on the state of the collection and its potential. Aided by a band of active volunteers, under threat of bombing in 1941 she supervised the Museum's evacuation and took on the formidable task of cataloguing the Roman collection. The annual reports demonstrate her industry and the zest and ingenuity with which she overcame any difficulties.

Among the museum lectures she organised, was one of her own given in 1944 entitled 'Plus ça change – Roman Ladies' Hairdressing'. A photo of her taken around this time suggests first hand acquaintance with the Roman fashion (Fig. 4). At York she also brought about cooperation between the YPS and the RAC. Consequently they still hold a joint annual meeting. The first York Summer School was held in 1944 on Mary's initiative, under both banners. These partnership events then continued annually with other organisation, and having thus gained kudos, they were taken over around 1950 by the Academic Committee of the York Civic Trust. York's Institute of Architectural Studies grew directly from them, it being one of the two institutions from which the University of York developed.

In 1938 Mary's work was recognised through her election to Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Her sponsors included J. N. L. Myres, J. L. Kirk, A. Hamilton Thompson, Charles Peers, Sir Charles Clay, Miles Birkitt, R. E. (Mortimer) Wheeler, R. G. Collingwood, Philip Corder, J. M. de Navarro and Christopher Hawkes. It would have been difficult to find more distinguished signatories. This achievement was followed by a request to serve as expert member on the Romano-British period panel of the newly-founded Council for British Archaeology in 1944 and by elevation to the Vice-Presidency of the Thoresby Society the same year.

It was probably through Derwas Chitty's sister Lily F., or 'Lal', that Mary intermittently remained in touch with him. Lal had a near-inexhaustible knowledge of later prehistoric artefacts, fed by a huge card index, the basis of the distribution maps in Cyril Fox's classic distributional study, *The Personality of Britain* (1st edition 1932). Indeed, her site and artefact documentation at the National Monuments Record (England) in Swindon, and at the Local Studies Centre in Shrewsbury (Carr 1992) today remain fundamental sources for research into British prehistory (Grimes 1972; Houlder 1980). Lal was also committed to helping amateur and professional alike, so they had much in common and corresponded about their mutual interest in Early Bronze Age Food Vessels, the Yorkshire dimension of which Mary published in 1938. Probably brought together in this way, Derwas and Mary married in July 1943. By then, he had become Rector of Upton near Didcot in Berkshire (Oxfordshire), and there they settled.

DIDCOT(1943–1968)

Marriage at Leeds Parish Church and Mary's departure from Yorkshire left a huge gap at the Yorkshire Museum which during 1945 was only partly filled by Ian Richmond, then still lecturing at Newcastle. It led directly to the appointment of a professional archaeologist at the Yorkshire Museum. In 1950 Mary was made a Vice-President of the YPS, and eventually became the YPS's longest surviving member and senior Vice-President.

Mary was much missed by the Romanists and by the other Yorkshire societies to which she had given so much. In 1947, she was asked to write a popular, educational tract about Roman Leeds for the Leeds 'Lit and Phil. Soc'. Drafted around the time her daughter was born, the intended text was never published. On the Roman archaeology front, she quickly handed over the reins of the RACY to her former assistant secretary and close friend Molly Walker in 1944. But even in her absence Mary was considered to have the best connections for effective protest against potential site-related threats. Indeed, Dorothy Greene explains how Mary had 'got in touch with the Ministry of Works' in Autumn 1943 about opencast coalmining at Scholes Wood, threatening the eponymous site near Rotherham (*YAJ* 36 (1945), 252). In spite

of heavy commitments to family and Church life at Upton, Mary never lost contact with Yorkshire institutions and retained an active interest in the YAS Roman Antiquities Section for the rest of her life.

Derwas's Anglicanism was tempered by recognisable elements of Orthodoxy, and he belonged to the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius (Chitty, D. 1947 (website)), a small but influential group of Anglican-Orthodox clergy. He had a great friend in H. A. Hodges (1905–1976), professor of philosophy at Reading University and a fellow member of the group. This Orthodoxy partly reflected, if not actually explained, his fascination for early Levantine Christianity. Invited (through the offices of Mary's brother George) to convert his life's study to the Birkbeck Lectures at Cambridge in 1961–3, he published it in book form shortly before retirement. It appeared in 1966 as *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire*, (Oxford: 2nd edition 1995 by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, New York) and was translated into French and Romanian. At Didcot, Mary and Derwas were blessed by the birth of a daughter in 1947, an event which much enriched their lives, bringing greater social integration and lasting friendship with communicants and the wider community. Upton was a place of great contentment for the Chitty family and from there they regularly took students to Bardsey Island off the Llyn peninsula in North Wales (Allchin *pers. comm.*), a site reputedly colonised by Celtic Monks.

WALES

As Derwas's retirement in 1968 demanded a location appropriately reflecting his spiritual commitment, they decided on Llangwnadl, almost within sight of Bardsey. Tragically, just three years after their move, Derwas died suddenly as the result of a domestic accident. With her strong personal beliefs and a deep love of music, however, Mary was never alone. Eventually her daughter Anna Georgina married, moved to bring up her family nearby and helping care for her as old age gradually took its toll on her health.

Over the final third of her long life, Mary established new friendships and developed Welsh interests, keeping abreast of archaeology through the Council for British Archaeology (Wales/Cymru) Group 2, a group in which her sister-in-law, Lal was still active until shortly before she died in 1979.

In 1985 a new generation of Romanists held a conference in Leeds to celebrate her lifelong commitment. Its proceedings became the basis of a published festschrift (Price *et al* 1988). This included a brief tribute and some 22 contributions which admirably covered her interests. Pleased with its contents, she accepted the accolade with characteristic grace, humility and surprise.

After the Leeds conference Mary set about finishing her last project, an original research contribution on *The Monks of Ynys Enlli* (Chitty 1992; 2000). Whether or not intentional, this should be seen as a tribute to Derwas. The second volume came only shortly after her ninety-fifth birthday. At its launch in Aberdaron Church, she spoke movingly to offer thanks to all who had helped her complete the task.

CONCLUSION

In some ways typical of Victorian industrial families, the Kitson Clarks developed a strong intellectual pedigree which almost impelled them to historical scholarship. Edwin had a good start: as a founder member of the Thoresby Society at fourteen, and acquaintance with J. R. Mortimer (and possibly Canon Greenwell) even before

University. With both Classical education and engineering qualifications, he was well-fitted to help found the RACY/RAC and research on a broad front of archaeological and historical topics. Marriage seems to have strengthened his broad intellectual *persona*, making it natural to research and promote so many aspects of history and education through the Leeds Literary and Philosophical, the Thoresby and the Yorkshire Archaeological Societies, and taking local discovery and personal theory to a national platform through the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Edwin's interests in the prehistory of locomotive engineering were no less fortunate or accomplished, and he knew the privilege of being able to raise steam on one of his grandfather's, the world's second-oldest working railway engine. Given these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that his son George should have become such a distinguished historian, and Mary an accomplished archaeologist, as it was almost in their genes.

Although Mary's many published articles were mainly on Romano-British topics, her early interest in Palaeolithic cave sites, published studies of Yorkshire Food Vessels and The Brigantes (Clark, M. K. 1938a; 1938b), together with several reports on Iron Age sites, demonstrate that as a prehistorian she was quite eclectic. Throughout her life she also researched on questions she never published. For example, seeking Continental enamelled terret rings for comparative purposes, she searched the British Library's correspondence between Albert Way (editor of the Royal Archaeological Institute) and Ferdinand Keller, who pioneered exploration of the Swiss Lake Villages in the 1850s.

Notwithstanding these stimulating diversions or the accomplishments of the intellectual circle whose acquaintance or friendship she shared, posterity will best remember Mary for her achievements in stimulating Romano-British studies in Northern England through the RAC, and by publishing her Roman Gazetteer of East Yorkshire.

Mary's life was remarkable not just for her own achievements, but also for its longevity. Through her father and his early mentors she had inherited an antiquarian tradition extending back well beyond a general acceptance of archaeological stratigraphy and the changes in perception of human antiquity made by the Darwinian revolution. She herself not only witnessed socio-economic changes and international conflicts radically altering how education and learning were organised: she saw how these had reduced the influence of independent gentlemen scholars, replacing their roles with a professional class of archaeologist and historian. She also appreciated how tertiary education, in her day enjoyed only by the privileged few, had become so much more readily attainable for the many. Whilst not uncritical of these changes, throughout her life Mary remained faithful and committed to Haverfield's values, now a century old, promoting cooperation between amateur and professional, profiting from interdisciplinary studies at University level, and maintaining high standards of bibliographic research and fieldwork – values as relevant now as they were then.

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correspondence with the writer since 1979. The text is similarly indebted to the late Herman Ramm for his account of Mary's contribution to the YPS. I am particularly indebted to Mrs Agnes Rutherford, archive helper for the YAS who, having catalogued Edwin's papers, and corresponded with Mary in recent years, has a much better understanding of the family's history and achievements than I. This she has freely shared, as well as troubling to recover material from the Claremont strong-rooms during building operations, when issues of health and safety were restrictive. Last, but certainly not least, I would not and could not have written this tribute without the help of Mary's nephew, 'E. F.' Clark and the hospitality of Mary's daughter Anna Georgina 'A. G.'. Both have responded unstintingly to all manner of requests for information about their family and its activities. Any errors and omissions which remain are entirely the author's responsibility.

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BRIAN RODGERSON HARTLEY MA, FSA (1929–2005)

As an excavator and a pottery expert, the distinguished archaeologist Brian Hartley made an invaluable contribution to the interpretation and dating of sites in the north-west provinces of the Roman Empire, and those of Roman Britain in particular.

His destiny as an archaeologist may have been sealed when, at the age of five, he saw two samian ware dishes on display in the foyer of the Regal Cinema, in his native Chester. Digging came two years later, when, returning home from a school lesson on Roman Britain, he took a bucket and spade into the garden and unearthed a piece of white crenellated pottery, which he diagnosed as part of a Roman soldier's upper denture.

He won a scholarship to the King's School in Chester, where he became both house and school captain. While still a pupil there, in 1946, he took part in his first formal excavation under the direction of W. J. Williams at Heronbridge, Cheshire, and wrote a short account of the pottery finds for the school magazine.

It was in 1948 that Brian heard a lecture in Chester by Sir Ian Richmond, which was to have a formative influence on his practical and academic approach to archaeology. From then on Richmond became his mentor and friend.

After two years' National Service in the RAF, he studied natural sciences at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He went on to gain a diploma in prehistoric archaeology, with distinction, and became research assistant to Graeme Clark. However, he was never entirely committed to prehistory, and was soon lecturing and supervising in Romano-British archaeology.

During this period he took part in the archaeological summer school at Great Casterton under Graham Webster, where he met such distinguished figures as Philip Corder and John Gillam, who were to become lifelong friends. He also dug on industrial sites in the Nene valley.

Brian was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1957. In the same year he began his long association with archaeology in Yorkshire, when he was appointed lecturer in Romano-British Archaeology in the Department of Latin in the University of Leeds. He stayed at the University until the end of his working life, becoming reader in 1967. His subject soon became one of the most popular options for second- and third-year classics students, not least because it included an annual 'training dig' at the fort at Bainbridge, which Brian was to direct for over a decade. The high point of this period was the recovery in 1960, at the east gate of the fort, of a large stone which had earlier been photographed *in situ*, by R. G. Collingwood. When turned over this proved to carry an inscription, giving the name of a hitherto unknown governor of Britain, C. Valerius Pudens. The excitement generated by moving the stone to the site hut in wet and muddy conditions caused it to drop onto Brian's foot, cracking a toe. It was some time before he lived down jokes about the enormous pot which encased his entire foot. Less spectacularly, a year later, a small stone was uncovered, recording the presence of the Cohors VI Nerviorum at Bainbridge.

In the late 1960s, at the instigation of the then professor of Latin at Leeds, Brian was joined at Bainbridge by Professor Leon Fitts and a group of his students from Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Leon was later to co-direct the excavations at Lease Rigg.

Brian directed other major excavations in Yorkshire, at the forts of Ilkley (1962), Bowes (1967–8, with Sheppard Frere), Slack (1968), Lease Rigg (1976–80) and the

villa at Kirk Sink, Gargrave (1968–75).

In 1962 Brian turned his attention to Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme, France), where he, and for some years Sheppard Frere, collaborated with Hugues Vertet in excavating one of the kiln sites producing the red-slipped table ware known as samian (*terra sigillata*), which was widely exported throughout the north-western Empire.

By now the leading samian expert in Britain, in 1963 Brian conceived a project which is still ongoing, the publication of an index of potters' stamps on samian ware. He had come to realise that Felix Oswald's pioneering work on the subject (1931) must be revised and updated, in view of the enormous quantity of stamps which had come to light in the intervening thirty years. Brian recognised the great potential of potters' stamps, when independently dated, to refine the chronology of excavated sites, to illustrate patterns of trade and to provide insights into the organisation of the samian industry itself. He therefore set about, with the aid of assistants, to collect rubbings of stamps in British and Continental museums, from which accurate drawings could be made. Published stamps and material from excavations were also to be included. Forty years on the text amounts to some 5000 pages. The most fitting memorial to Brian is to finish the Index, and this is what his friends and colleagues are determined to do.

Apart from his university duties and his work on the Index, Brian found time to take part in weekend courses for budding samian specialists and to answer specific archaeological queries. He also contributed widely to both British and Continental publications. These are too numerous to list individually, but include synthetic works such as *The Brigantes* (1988, with Leon Fitts) and 'The Roman occupations of Scotland' (*Britannia* 1972). His chapter in *Roman Castleford* (2000), on the samian from the Pottery Shop, is a discussion of one of the most important groups of samian to have been found in Britain.

Reminiscences from colleagues and former students since his death attest the high regard in which Brian was held, both for his scholarship and his generosity with his time. He was of the firm opinion that the first duty of a university teacher was to teach, and, given his convivial nature, this was the aspect of his work which he missed most after his retirement from the University in 1995. Brian's classes and tutorials were inspirational, and often hilarious. He had a dry, deadpan wit, and one had to concentrate to keep up. In those less politically-correct days, when his lectures were punctuated by relighting his pipe, students were known to count the number of matches that were struck in an hour – 22 was the record.

Brian wore his scholarship lightly, and had a wide range of interests outside archaeology; good food – he was an excellent cook – fine wines, Baroque music, especially J.S. Bach, architecture and detective fiction, amongst others.

Having known Brian for nearly 50 years, first as one of his students and later as a friend and collaborator in the Index, I shall miss his warmth and wisdom greatly, as will many others.

Brenda Dickinson

BOOK REVIEWS

PREHISTORIC ROCK ART OF THE WEST RIDING. CUP-AND-RING-MARKED ROCKS OF THE VALLEYS OF THE AIRE, WHARFE, WASHBURN AND NIDD. By K. J. S. BAUGHEY AND E. A. VICKERMAN. 30.5 x 21.5 cm. Pp. 188, Figs. 49. Pls. (b/w) 193. Tables 8. Archaeological Services (WYAS): Yorkshire Archaeology 9, 2003, Morley, 2003. Price £14 (+ £2 p. & p. from Archaeological Services (WYAS)) hbk. ISBN 1 870453 32 8.

This volume is an updated, revised and enlarged edition of a previous study - *The Carved Rocks on Rombalds Moor* (Ilkley Archaeology Group, 1986). It provides an illustrated catalogue of a greatly increased total of 653 individual panels of rock with cup marked, cup and ring marked or with pecked groove decoration – within the catchments of the Rivers Aire, Wharfe, Washburn and Nidd in the former West Riding of Yorkshire.

The framework of the book comprises Discussion (Part One), Gazetteer (Part Two) and Illustrations (Part Three).

This work is expressly limited to one aspect of the prehistory of the area – to the cup and ring marked rocks.

The whole of the text (Part One) is under the general heading of ‘Discussion’ and comprises a descriptive statement of the physical and present day vegetational background, character, chronology, distribution and location of the cup and ring marked rocks of the area. There is no review of the general prehistory of the area (except in passing within the topographical sections) to provide a context for the rock carvings. With the exception of the reference to the Neolithic activity revealed during recent excavations at Backstone Beck on Ilkley Moor (Edwards, 1994) the rock carvings are present in a landscape otherwise apparently largely devoid of evidence for preceding Mesolithic and contemporary Neolithic/Bronze Age human activity.

A specific discussion of the nature of the activity represented by the rock carvings within the study area is lacking.

The presentation of the maps is really excellent. The Gazetteer includes references to a comprehensive bibliography.

Nevertheless, it is a pity that there is no map or discussion of the distribution of Mesolithic and Neolithic occupation sites (lithic evidence), round barrows, stone circles, ring cairns and standing stones of the area.

The discussion provides a summary of the evidence for the chronology and distribution of these carvings throughout Britain and a very brief note on their distribution across Europe.

The cup and ring carvings of the study area have just three elements – the cup mark, the concentric ring and linking or enclosing grooves. The restricted nature of the resulting ‘art’ can be seen from the drawings and photographs. All of the panels with more than one cup mark are drawn and all the more complex panels photographed. It can be seen from these that to describe the cup and ring carvings as ‘rock art’ requires some additional comment in support. This comment is lacking in this book and elsewhere in recent Rock Art literature for all I know.

To describe the cup and ring as ‘art’ seems to me to miss the point the cup mark is not art, it is the symbol of an idea or a myth or a totemic legend. Not art, but of equal but different interest to the people who made them - and to us. We shall always be ignorant of their meaning unless the necessary effort is made to understand the way of

life followed by those who made the carvings.

This book does what it says in the summary – it provides a catalogue of the carvings. It does not describe their distribution and location relative to the physical landscape or their probable contemporary woodland environment.

The rock carvings are located on the upper slopes of the dale sides, at or close to spring lines but not usually on the summit plateau. A few examples have been located on river terraces or on bluffs which overlook the course of rivers. Few if any carved rocks are located at any distance from watercourses. The implications to be drawn from this disjunct distribution are not considered; neither are the locations of the rocks discussed in relation to the nearest lithic scatters which can be interpreted as occupation sites.

Carved rocks cannot be considered adequately in isolation from other field evidence, their location in relation to resources and without full consideration of their contemporary woodland environment.

This having been said, this work is an excellent and comprehensive guide to the engraved rock surfaces of the area and will provide the baseline for further discussion. This can hopefully further address their distribution and context in relation to contemporary human activity in the area.

Darlington

Tim Laurie

CATTERICK RACECOURSE. NORTH YORKSHIRE. THE REUSE AND ADAPTATION OF A MONUMENT FROM PREHISTORIC TO ANGLIAN TIMES. By C. MOLONEY, R. HOLBREY, P. WHEELHOUSE AND I. ROBERTS. 29.5 x 21 cm. Archaeological Services (WYAS) Publications 4, Wakefield, 2003. Price £10 (+ 75p p&p from Archaeological Services (WYAS)) hbk. ISBN 1 870453 33 6.

The appearance of this volume is a welcome addition to the archaeological literature on the Catterick area covering periods other than the Roman. Indeed, it is perhaps appropriate to say from the start that the WYAS Publications series as a whole is to be welcomed. It provides a vehicle for getting medium sized reports into print with enough supporting data to allow the reader to consider the validity of the arguments, rather than being forced to accept the conclusions as presented, or having to go to the archive to review essential material.

Essentially the sequence presented traces the story of the site from a Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age stone cairn, subsequently incorporated into a ringwork – probably a henge. That structure became the focus for later Iron Age settlement and finally an Anglian cemetery of fifth- to sixth-century date. Readers may recall that it was suggested that the probable henge was converted to a *ludus* or amphitheatre, and although that possibility is discussed (pp. 12-13), it is without the force of the original assertion.

The descriptions of the archaeological deposits encountered are clear and informative, with catalogues of the nine Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age cists, the ten later Iron Age structures and the forty-five Anglian burials. Regrettably in the latter case the bone preservation was poor, thereby depriving us of a potentially valuable skeletal assemblage. To an extent this is more than made up for by the grave goods (pp. 24-29; Haughton, pp. 38-41), which provide evidence of ‘a respectable, rather than a rich, material culture’. The pottery (Vyner pp. 30-35), which represents a substantial component of the finds assemblage, provides a useful discussion of material of Late Neolithic and Bronze Age date that is unusual in the northern Vale of York/Vale of Mowbray. Vyner quite reasonably also points to a lack of published pottery from Catterick, ‘at the time of writing’ for the ‘Pre-Roman Iron Age and possible native Roman period pottery’ and the paucity of comparative material from the wider region. A little more surprising, given that this excavation was undertaken in 1995 and (presumably) the pottery analysis sometime after that, is his statement (p. 34) regarding ‘the absence of local published comparative material’ for the Early Medieval pottery, given Jeremy Evans’ contribution to the

round up of Early Medieval excavated evidence from Catterick published in *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (1996).

As would be expected the study of the animal bone suffered from similar problems deriving from poor preservation to those encountered with the human bone. The botanical remains fare rather better with evidence from the two of the late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pits and the Iron Age enclosure being presented in summary (Connell and Roberts, pp. 42-43) – a welcome addition to the published environmental evidence from the area. Equally important is the brief report on the buried soils from under the cairn and the successor ringwork which indicate that both monuments were built on surfaces that lack positive evidence for cultivation (Carter, pp. 43-44).

The introduction reveals a minor, and far from terminal weakness in the research behind the volume – a reliance on secondary sources when the primary references are readily available. On p. 1 reference is made to the discovery in 1625 of a cauldron full of Roman coins citing Hildyard and Wade (1950), rather than the original publication (Gibson's 1722 edition of Camden's *Britannia*). Similarly in mentioning (p. 1) the possible villa at RAF Catterick (now Marne Barracks) no mention is made of Prof. R. Cramp's report published in 2002, although the report is referred to elsewhere in the volume. Overall there is a rather odd mix of references to interim reports (pp. 1 and 3) and the final monograph on the Roman town and associated sites, *Cataractonium: A Roman Town and its hinterland* (CBA 2002), which superseded them. It may be that the recognition of these inconsistencies reflects the, perhaps unhealthy, focus of this author on the Catterick area over more than two decades, something that may make me unreasonably perceptive of what are minor omissions! Those omissions and the citing of the 1986 *Archaeological Journal* report on Heslerton Site 1, rather than the more recent monograph on *West Heslerton The Anglian Cemetery* (D. Powlesland and C. Haughton 1999) in the general discussion of the Anglian burials (p. 29), may reflect a long period between the drafting of the report and its publication (although it should be noted that, as would be expected, Christine Haughton does cite the West Heslerton report in her discussion of the Anglian grave goods (p. 38)). However the moving, on p. 30, of Boltby from the Hambleton Hills to the *northern* escarpment of the North York Moors is as surprising as it would be impressive if it were ever achieved!

Ian Roberts provides a thorough and well-considered discussion of the development of the site, sagely entitled 'The balance of evidence' (pp. 44-47). In this discussion he rejects 'substantive Roman activity' in the area of the henge, which is seen as undermining the potential for any long-term use of it as a *ludus* or amphitheatre. Equally he sees a potential archaeomagnetic date of AD 300-450 for Roundhouse 8006 as 'difficult to accept'. He is equally objective in his assessment of the pre- and post-Roman material, acknowledging both, possible late Mesolithic use of the site on the evidence of the lithics and, although the first dated activity is represented by pits of Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age date, the cists and cairn assigned to that phase are not directly dated. Similarly he states that the case for 'the ringwork originating as a henge is unproven', but argues that the circumstantial evidence is in total persuasive. The extension of Peter Topping's 'magico-religious' landscape (YAJ 54, 14) south from Scorton to include the Catterick henge and nearby barrows is suggested and the regional context of the henge considered. Similar careful consideration is given to the development and regional context of the Iron Age settlement. He also notes (p. 47) that the association of the Anglian cemetery with a major prehistoric monument may bear out the suggestion that 'ancient monuments had social and symbolic significance for the early Anglo-Saxons, and were one of the most important factors determining the location of their burial sites'.

Despite the minor criticisms regarding the referencing and lack of consistent revision of reports to reflect recent publications this is without question a significant addition to the corpus of published PPG16 excavations from North Yorkshire. It is to be hoped that other contractors have the resources made available to them to allow them to treat other sites as well as WYAS have done Catterick Racecourse.

Portsmouth

Pete Wilson

ROMANO-BRITISH ENCLOSURES AT APPLE TREE CLOSE, PONTEFRACT, WEST YORKSHIRE. EXCAVATIONS, 1987 By S. WRATHMELL. 29.5 x 21 cm. Pp. ii and 26. Figs. 19. Pls. 9. Archaeological Services (WYAS) Publications 1, Morley 2001. Price £3.50 (+ 75p p. & p. from Archaeological Services (WYAS)). ISBN 1 870453 25 5.

IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT ENCLOSURES AT MOSS CARR, METHLEY, WEST YORKSHIRE. By I. ROBERTS AND J. RICHARDSON. 29.5 x 21 cm. Pp. iv and 44. Figs. 27. Pls. 7. Archaeological Services (WYAS) Publications 2, Morley 2002. Price £5 (+ 75p p. & p. from Archaeological Services (WYAS)). ISBN 1 870453 30 1.

These reports represent the first two in a new series produced by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service. Both are A4 in size, soft backed and stapled, and relatively slim volumes.

The first of the reports on the site at Apple Tree Close relates to excavations undertaken on two ditched enclosures to the south-west of Pontefract in advance of a housing development, with the report based upon a research archive prepared by Robin Turner. The enclosures had been identified as cropmarks from aerial photographs and were situated on a slight knoll above a slope to the south. The south-east corner of a rectangular enclosure (Enclosure A) was investigated, while an adjoining D-shaped enclosure (Enclosure B), measuring 37 m by up to 25 m was examined in its entirety. Most of the report addresses the structural evidence recovered from the site (there being no background information on either the excavation methodology or the number and recording system used throughout the report). Four phases of occupation were identified, the first being the establishment of Enclosure A, defined by rock-cut ditches, in the second century AD. Enclosure B was added in the second phase, which consisted of a palisaded enclosure with an entrance on the east side. This contained an oven as well as the remains of a complete hobnail boot which had decayed *in situ*. In the third phase Enclosure B doubled in size, was possibly subdivided by a fence to contain a complex of four flues and three ovens, and an unknown structure. Slag was recovered from two of the flues while carbonised cereal remains (possibly used as fuel) were recovered from one of the ovens. The final phase of occupation was largely represented by recut ditches, although the fills of these produced most of the artefacts from the site, including third- to fourth-century pottery, remains of further hobnail boots and a crucible with copper alloy residue. Three further flues and two ovens were also phased to this period. This section of the report is supported by detailed site plans, sections and photographs.

The remainder of the report presents the specialist reports on the relatively small assemblage of excavated artefacts, principally consisting of pottery (Peter Rush), quernstones (D. G. Buckley), hobnails (C. van Driel-Murray) and the crucibles (R. Turner). These are supported by relevant catalogue entries and well produced illustrations. The rather brief discussion (and particularly as no parallels or contrasts are drawn with other sites either regionally or nationally) then evaluates the evidence from the site, and concludes that the main enclosure probably represents a steading or mixed farming operation established in the mid-second century or earlier. The ancillary enclosure that was principally investigated increased in size in the third century and appears to have had a non-domestic function, being instead utilised for crop processing, iron smelting and possibly copper alloy working. Occupation of the site appears to have ceased in the early fourth century.

The second report is upon the results of three open area excavations (Sites 1-3), collectively amounting to 2.5 ha, undertaken to the west of Methley in 2001 in advance of opencast mining. The excavations are located within an area of enclosure sites and field systems of probable late Iron Age and Romano-British sites largely known from cropmarks, and further evaluated by geophysics, although no figures of either the cropmarks complexes or the results of the geophysical survey are included within the report.

The area of Site 1 investigated two adjacent enclosures (A and B) both containing several phases of structures of differing character. Enclosure A consisted of a ditched enclosure measuring 55m by 50m defined by a substantial recut ditch and with an elaborate east-facing

entrance with some form of gate or other superstructure. A substantial ditch was located to the east of the enclosure opposite the entrance. The enclosure contained intercutting gullies representing two roundhouses and two double-circle or conjoined structures with annexes. The basis for the interpretation of these, however, remains unclear and sometimes unconvincing, and particularly with respect to the relationships and phasing. Parts of Structure 2 could equally be regarded as part of Structure 1, while the interpretation of gully type features as 'wall trenches' is not substantiated and the basis for the differentiation between the structures or 'living areas' and the annexes is nowhere clearly stated. Enclosure B was located to the south and that part which was excavated contained three structures, although these probably replaced one another and there was probably only a single building at any one time. A splayed 'avenue' extended eastwards from the buildings, although this was not directly aligned on the enclosure entrance to the east. Interpretation of parts of the site is again questionable, an example being a single deep post-hole to the east of the buildings (and therefore presumably within the area of the 'avenue') which is dismissed as of 'little significance' (p. 10). The querns and pottery from the site, together with radiocarbon dates, suggest that both the enclosures were contemporary and of mid to late Iron Age date. The precise relationship between the two enclosures was not however established, as the intersection of the ditches was obscured by a hedgeline at the time of excavation (as was the apparent terminal of the ditch to the east of Enclosure A). Why this hedgeline was not removed at the time of excavation, or relationships crucial to the understanding of Site 1 not investigated when it was subsequently removed, is not explained.

Site 2, located to the north-east of Site 1, consisted of a substantial sub-rectangular ditched enclosure (C) measuring 50m by 62m with a smaller annexe (D) measuring 20m by 62m on the north side. Neither the east side of Enclosure D nor its intersection on this side with Enclosure C was investigated (being beneath a farm track at the time of excavation), and again why areas of the site containing crucial intersections between the principal enclosures were not subsequently investigated is not explained. Enclosure C also had an eastern entrance with a formal gate structure, and contained a single roundhouse. Radiocarbon dating of the site suggests a late Iron Age date, although a sub-rectangular sub-enclosure (E) within the south-west corner of Enclosure C indicated re-occupation of the site in the later Roman period.

The excavations at Site 3 recorded part of the south-west corner of a further enclosure and associated areas of land division, the remainder extending to the east of the site boundaries. No evidence of occupation was recorded, and the limited artefactual evidence recovered suggests a Roman date for this site.

The small but significant artefactual assemblage recovered from the excavations at Moss Carr consisted primarily of pottery and quernstones, with respective specialist reports by J. Evans and D. Heslop. Both reports are supported by good quality illustrations, although some of the hatching on the sections of the querns has not reproduced well during the printing process.

The final discussion section addresses the nature of the Iron Age enclosures and structures in particular, as well as the dating of the sites and parallels both regionally and nationally. The significance of the excavations at Moss Carr is stressed, and specifically the fact that both Sites 1 and 2 appear to date entirely to the mid to late Iron Age (with the exception of Phase 3 at Site 2), a period under represented in the archaeological record when most similar sites appear to date from the late Iron Age into the Roman period. The sites appear to have been farmsteads, most probably containing a single roundhouse at any one time. The nature of the structures are also discussed, which appear to confirm to the notion that larger roundhouses are earlier in date. The few other excavated examples of double-circle structures on the British mainland are also noted.

The publication of the sites at both Apple Tree Close and Moss Carr makes a significant contribution to the increasing number of sites of Iron Age and Romano-British date investigated throughout Yorkshire, and particularly within the last few years. The Iron Age dates for both Sites 1 and 2 at Moss Carr are of particular importance, although it is of concern that there appear to be some fundamental questions regarding the excavation methodology, aspects of the site interpretation and the lack of some background information in this more recent report.

These concerns do not, however, detract from the significance of the results.

While the format of this new publication series by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service will enable the relatively rapid publication of the results of excavations, it is not immediately clear at what audience these are targeted. They are too complex and lengthy to be considered 'popular' summaries yet lack the depth of most reports published in regional and national journals. In many respects the format of the Moss Carr report in particular equates to that of an unpublished report produced for commercial clients, now commonly referred to as 'grey literature'. If the purposes of this series is to achieve wider dissemination of the contents of such reports then it is to be commended. On the basis of these reports, however, the series should not be regarded as a substitute for full academic publication.

Barnard Castle

Peter Cardwell

ASPECTS OF INDUSTRY IN ROMAN YORKSHIRE AND THE NORTH. Edited by P. WILSON AND J. PRICE. Pp. vii + 151. Figs. and pls. 68. Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2002. Price: £25 pbk. ISBN 1 84217 078 3.

The scope of this volume originates from a one-day conference on 'Aspects of Industry in Roman Yorkshire', held in York in 1994, subsequently augmented by some articles that present results from the whole of the Roman North. Although not indicated in the layout, the volume can broadly be subdivided into three sections: regional overviews, pyrotechnical crafts and low temperature crafts.

The first two articles present regional case studies of the various crafts and industries in confined areas: Cool's article concentrates on York, Wilson's on the North York Moors. Both give good overviews of the processes and products of crafts identified in their respective areas, and the impact the Roman industries had on the development of native craft. It is only in these two contributions that one of the most important and ubiquitous crafts of the Roman world – iron working – is mentioned in this volume. Wilson also draws attention to crafts virtually 'invisible' in the archaeological record but which nonetheless will have been quite common, e.g. woodland management and fuel production, carpentry, textile and leather working. In a careful consideration of the aspects that can obscure our understanding of the extent of craft production he indicates that in rural contexts this production rarely presents an 'industry' but rather remains at the level of home production.

Following the overviews are five sections on pyrotechnical crafts: pottery, glass making, copper alloys and other non-ferrous metalworking. In the first of these material specific studies Halkon presents a summary of the results of an intensive landscape survey carried out in recent years to investigate the Holme-on-Spalding Moor pottery industry. After describing this industry in its landscape setting, presenting raw materials, communication routes and kiln sites, he takes a closer look at the pottery fabrics and forms in order to establish a chronology of kiln sites. Further paragraphs examine the markets for the pottery as well as iron working carried out in the vicinity of some of the kiln sites.

Swan examines 'the Roman pottery of Yorkshire in its wider historical setting' from Flavian times right through to the end of the Roman Period. She describes the development of the military workshops in York and other sites in the region, provides a comprehensive typochronology of their products, looks at the impact the Roman pottery manufacture had on native pottery industries and outlines the expansion of rural industries from the third century onwards, to name but a few of the wide array of topics covered in this truly far-reaching study. Her thorough knowledge of Roman pottery allows her to examine the origins of the pottery and show the influences on pottery production from all corners of the empire, be it by movement of craftsmen (e.g. from Verulamium, the Rhineland or Northern Africa) or individual or institutional imports.

In her contribution, Price examines glass production in the region in the Roman Period. She begins with an overview of the evidence for glass making in the whole of the Roman world and explains the processes involved in the production of glass from raw materials. This is followed by a description of the much more widespread evidence for secondary production – glass working – and the installations, tools and waste products related to this, which in Yorkshire, as in the rest of Britain, seems to be located close to military bases or urban settlements. The second half of her article gives a detailed summary and interpretation of the evidence recovered from the region so far, not without drawing attention to the fact that some of the processes such as the production of glass bangles, beads, counters, finger rings or hairpins would only leave very little or no trace in the archaeological record.

In his short paper on the use of copper alloys Dungworth begins with a summary of the production and uses of various copper alloys throughout the Roman world. This is followed by a discussion of two types of artefacts with distributions more or less confined to Yorkshire and the North, namely Dragonisque and Fantail brooches. The Bulmer/Feachem typology for Dragonisque brooches does not show the clear association of type to metal content seen in some other first-century bow brooches, and thus might need revision. The following section examines fantail brooches, which were made in a distinctive alloy with a low level of tin.

A comparison of the percentages of various alloys found on different types of sites concludes Dungworth's paper. Interestingly, it appears that in the study area brass is more commonly found in small rural sites than in other types of settlements. The explanation Dungworth gives for this phenomenon is that the 'indigenous' population had more ready access to a 'Roman' resource than many more Romanised communities and the higher proportion of brass on these sites can already be seen in the late Iron Age. I would doubt whether the indigenous population would really have easier access to brass than other more Romanised communities. The pattern might rather be due to a deliberate choice/preference of raw materials. Along similar lines Tacitus (*Germania* 5) reports of Germanic tribes who demanded to be paid in old Republican denarii because they were aware of their higher silver content.

In her short contribution Bayley presents the evidence for non-ferrous metalworking in the study area, i.e. primary extraction of lead, and secondary working of lead, pewter, silver, gold and copper-alloys. This is compared with other areas of Britain and a useful gazetteer of sites is added at the end.

The last three articles deal with leather working, jet and other black minerals as well as the building materials used in Roman York.

Van Driel-Murray provides an eloquent reminder of the importance of the leather trade for the Roman economy, ranging in scope only after food and textile production. Continuing the basic format of the preceding articles, a summary of the raw materials is followed by an appraisal of the evidence for tanneries in the study area, the role of supply for the army as the largest consumer of leather goods. She then goes on to examine the styles of footwear in use in Yorkshire and concludes that by the end of the second century 'a remarkably homogenous, internationally oriented package of footwear styles' was available to all levels of the population with 'little difference between soldier and civilian, urban or rural.' This calls 'into question the now common opinion that Roman culture was no more than a thin veneer over essentially native society.'

In her article Allason-Jones examines the jet industry, traditionally associated with Yorkshire. The sources of raw material and their properties are discussed as well as the objects they are mostly used to produce. She draws attention to the fact that the sources of many black minerals other than jet can be found in many places throughout Britain, and there is also evidence for the import of jet from Spain. By comparison to historical and modern sources she suggests that the craftsmen were able to distinguish between different materials according to their material properties. From raw material found in craftshops in York and South Shields it appears that the Roman craftsmen had a wide variety of materials at their disposal and 'were either able to order what was required or had a regular supply of their preferred material.'

Of more local interest is the last paper by Gaunt and Buckland, presenting the sources of

stone building material found in Roman York and the modes of transport by which they came to the city, i.e. water way or road.

For everybody interested in the archaeology of the north of Roman Britain this is an invaluable source of information, and many of the articles will no doubt present points of reference for years to come. However, the volume will also prove useful to the student of crafts and industrial processes beyond Roman Yorkshire and the North.

Salisbury

Jörn Schuster

WEST HESLERTON: THE ANGLIAN CEMETERY. By CHRISTINE HAUGHTON AND DOMINIC POWLES LAND. 30.5 x 21.5 cm. 2 vols. Vol I: pp. viii + 197; figs 75; pls. 55; tables 188. Vol II: pp. viii + 376; figs. and pls. numerous. Landscape Research Centre Mono Ser 1, Yedingham, 1999. Price: £35 (+ p&p from Landscape Research Centre). ISBN 0 9537488 0 4.

This double monograph concerns the rescue excavation of an Early Saxon cemetery, which began in 1977 and which led to the formation of the Heslerton Parish Project. Volume I – *The excavation and discussion of the evidence* – begins with a description of the excavations, and then a detailed account of the important sequence of prehistoric landscape features (a Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age hengiform enclosure, post-circle and Early Bronze Age barrows) with eleven prehistoric burials, which became the focus for the later Anglo-Saxon cemetery. This is followed by a synthetic discussion of the cemetery itself and the range of artefacts found in graves. There are also four important specialist reports in this volume, all pertaining to the cemetery: chemical analysis of the copper alloys; an account of the conservation and study of the very well preserved organic residues, providing a wealth of evidence for the often missing organic components of these grave assemblages; an excellent study of the extensive textile remains and their interpretation in terms of Anglo-Saxon textile manufacture and dress; and a report on the human bone. Volume II – *Catalogue of the Anglian graves and associated assemblages* – comprises a detailed catalogue of the burials with accompanying plans and photographs, and a wide range of types of illustrations of the grave goods – digital scans and X-ray images, pencil shaded drawings and inked line drawings. There are also hand-coloured illustrations of the bead type series, a sequence of black and white, and colour, scanning electron microscope (SEM) and other micrographs of the organic materials from the site, and tabulations of grave contents and grave attributes. These volumes represent a considerable feat of economical self-publishing on the part of the authors and they are very reasonably priced. The result is mostly good but a professional typographer would have managed the cover design better (particularly the non-matching spines) and perhaps have resisted the distracting type faces used on plans and the background photographic images on some initial chapter pages. The omission of keys to the colour coding on the main cemetery plans suggests (perhaps wrongly) that the use of colour is cosmetic rather than explanatory.

Twenty years ago in the Sewerby (Bridlington) Anglo-Saxon cemetery report, I noted that only new large-scale excavations of cemetery and associated settlement would provide a better understanding of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of East Yorkshire. This monograph marks the beginning of the publication of just such a project, further enhanced by being part of a multi-period, multi-faceted landscape study of 10 square kilometres of land in Heslerton in the Vale of Pickering.

The significance of the cemetery itself lies in the fact that, while not complete, its 201 excavated burials (186 inhumations and 15 cremations) make it the most extensive excavated Early Saxon cemetery in the north of England. The limits of the cemetery have been found and it is estimated that the missing central section, which lies beneath the A64 road, might contain a further 100–150 burials. The analyses presented here suggest that this was a polyfocal cemetery deliberately located on a major prehistoric monument complex. It was used by between eight to fifteen kinship or family groups, comprising individuals of mixed age, sex and social status

(as represented by the provision of grave goods). It is suggested that the bone data might provide evidence for two physically distinct population groups. The importance of the cemetery has been greatly increased by the subsequent excavation of the associated settlement. Only at Mucking in Essex is there a similar body of excavated evidence for early Anglo-Saxon settlement and associated cemeteries. The data presented here will necessarily be reviewed when the evidence from both the Saxon settlement and its Late Iron Age and Roman predecessor is published. In addition we can expect further information concerning possible distinctions between the people buried here and about their geographical origins from the programme of DNA and trace element analysis of skeletal material, which began after these volumes were completed.

The authors' awareness of the cemetery as just one element of a much larger, as yet unpublished, landscape study may explain why there is no concluding summary of the data and why some aspects of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery are given less attention than might be expected. Perhaps the most important of these is the cemetery dating. It takes some perseverance to discover that the only account of the dating of individual graves is in the Concordance table of context and grave attributes (a raw data table which defies all the rules of typesetting in having text aligned in three different directions and includes binary coding of the phases which will certainly confuse some readers). A clearly substantiated account of this dating is lacking and many will feel that a single find of a type E1 spearhead cannot be used to put the beginnings of this cemetery in the second half of the fifth century, when no other artefact need be dated before the early sixth century. It remains to be seen if there is evidence from the settlement which could suggest an earlier starting date but, from the evidence presented here, this cemetery, like the Sewerby cemetery to the east, probably dates from *c* AD 500–625. There is no evidence to support the much wider date ranges of *c* AD 475–650 given here or *c* AD 450–650 given in the summary of the Heselton Parish Project on www.landscaperesearchcentre.org/Research. Taking into account the evidence from the rest of the project, the authors suggest we may be seeing continuity of settlement in the Heselton area with a settlement shift accompanying new political and cultural allegiances, and in response to climatic deterioration and the availability of new land for settlement after the collapse of Roman land tenure arrangements. Such an interpretation does not appear to be affected by a starting date for the cemetery of *c* AD 500, since Powlesland has suggested that the preceding Late Iron Age and Roman linear settlement along the fen edge was probably occupied until *c* AD 500 when it became too wet (website as above).

The Heselton Parish Project has the potential to answer important questions about the Roman/Anglo-Saxon transition in this rural area and the extent to which cultural and political changes in the late fifth/early sixth century in north-east Yorkshire were or were not linked to significant immigration of new peoples. These are questions of both regional and national importance and the value of this publication can only increase as the subsequent work of the Landscape Research Centre unfolds.

London

Sue Hirst

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF NORTH YORKSHIRE. Edited by ROBIN A. BUTLIN. Pp. xii + 296. Maps and graphs 120. Pls. 180. Westbury, Otley, 2003. Price: £30 (hbk), £20 (pbk). ISBN 1 84103 020 1 (hbk), 1 84103 023 6 (pbk).

This long-awaited volume is a visually stunning production, surely the most attractive of all the many county atlases produced over the last twenty years or so. The colour plates, well over one hundred of them, are of superb quality and definition, while the maps, mostly in colour and drawn to a common format by Nick Staley, allow an attractive range of symbols to be employed within a basic framework of contours (four levels) and drainage. Gone are the uninspiring base-maps of some earlier atlases with their confusing array of black symbols set in landscapes defined only by county boundaries and occasional rivers.

Apart from the ravishing illustrations, this Atlas also sets new textual standards: no less than

sixty experts have contributed as authors and/or section editors to produce what is in effect not just an atlas but a landscape history and to some extent a political, religious and economic history of the county as well. Although England's largest shire, a number of themes clearly needed a wider geographical treatment, and it is to the credit of the authors and editors that, for example, the important alum and iron industries, the main foci of which lay in the now-defunct county of Cleveland, have been fully mapped. Such cross-border incursions are rarely found in earlier atlases.

The organisation of the volume displays careful planning and systematic execution. After an admirably concise introduction to the physical geography of the County, there are five sections (3-7) arranged chronologically from Prehistory to circa 1900. These provide a flowing narrative of general historical trends within which some most unusual but nationally-significant data has been mapped, such as the distribution of religious guilds in the later Middle Ages. More specialised studies, particularly for the better-documented post-medieval period, are accommodated in five thematic sections (8-12) on wide regional themes such as agricultural and urban history, accompanied by sub-sections covering a fascinating range of local studies such as the character and distribution of rabbit warrens and the channelling of water from the wet moorlands to the dry limestone villages on the fringes of the North York Moors.

The main part of the text finishes with a valuable section (13) dealing with the twentieth-century County, including an elegant survey of current issues and pointers to the future, in which text and maps are particularly well integrated.

The footnotes for each section work at two levels: very full and often discursive references are placed at the end of the volume, but for the benefit of the more general reader, the editors have hit upon the excellent idea of providing short reading-lists in the generous margins against the appropriate sections. Although there is no index to the volume, readers should not have much difficulty in finding what they are looking for by referring to the very detailed table of contents and list of maps and graphs at the beginning of the text.

While the presentation and structure of the Atlas are admirable, some of the information provided in the text, maps and plates is not above criticism. In the first place, there is a distinct lack of geographical balance. Over one half of the photographs relate to the eastern third of the County, while only one fifth cover the equally extensive and much more heavily populated Vale of York, an imbalance which is reflected in the text as well. There is also some imbalance in chronological coverage. The Prehistoric and Roman periods are superbly described and illustrated, no doubt partly because archaeological evidence is particularly suitable for mapping. On the other hand the Early Medieval section is surprisingly thin. The lack of place-name maps is frankly astonishing, and although much is rightly made of the magnificent excavations at West Heslerton, no plan of this key site is provided. For the later medieval period, there are many surprising omissions: the morphology of rural settlements, field systems, moated sites and castle sites (except for a handful of royal ones) are virtually ignored in spite of a wealth of published research.

Equally serious is the absence of any maps of the administrative landscape before the eighteenth century and even then only as an incidental framework for the plotting of other data. At least a couple of maps showing wapentake, township and parish boundaries are surely mandatory. Coverage of the early modern and modern periods (circa 1500-1900) is much more thorough and systematic, not least because the later thematic sections mostly relate to the period after circa 1600.

Even in such an extensive compilation as this, there cannot of course be room for everything, but some of the maps, although pleasing to the eye, tell us very little and might perhaps have been expendable – those of battle sites and medieval communications spring to mind. Other maps do not quite live up to expectations: thus a map based on the 1673 Hearth Tax, allegedly showing the distribution of population as well as of wealth, actually contains little in the way of demographic information. Finally, a few maps verge on the repetitive: seven maps illustrating ancient and medieval woodlands, several of them telling broadly the same story,

does seem rather excessive.

While the content of the maps is occasionally inaccurate in detail, inevitable perhaps in such a huge undertaking, there is at least one important map which is seriously misleading. The mapping of the 1377 Poll Tax returns is a most worthwhile undertaking, but the results are initially puzzling, showing only a handful of settlements in the northern Vale of York and adjacent areas to east and west and leaving the reader to speculate as to what peculiar disasters had afflicted this once prosperous agricultural area? Unfortunately what we are not told is that the gap is due to the non-survival of returns from two wapentakes and the incomplete survival of those for three others.

In spite of these reservations, the Atlas is a most valuable addition to the historiography of the County which – if the stocks in my local bookshop last Christmas are anything to go by – will have a strong appeal to the general reader as well as to the specialist scholar. According to the Introduction, a number of contributors failed to deliver and it was left to the general and section editors to plug the gaps at short notice. Perhaps this is responsible for a certain unevenness in the text and the inclusion of occasionally inadequate or inaccurate data for mapping in what is otherwise a most impressive publication.

Guisborough

Barry Harrison

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF YORKSHIRE. AN ASSESSMENT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY. Edited by T G MANBY, STEPHEN MOORHOUSE AND PATRICK OTTAWAY. Pp. xiii. Figs. 128. Pls. 101. Tables 14. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occ. Pap. 3, Leeds, 2003. Price £25 (+ p & p). ISBN 1 9035 6405 0.

Most readers will be aware that over the past few years the archaeological community in Yorkshire has been engaged in a review of recent research, assessing the evidence available for every period of our past and identifying gaps in knowledge. Yorkshire is not the only region engaged in this process; some have already completed theirs while others have scarcely begun. The participants are many, ranging from employees of planning authorities, commercial units, museums, Universities, statutory authorities, consultants, amateurs to members of the local archaeological societies. The sceptical and the believers, all are invited to have their say and so influence the next generation of research projects.

In September 1998 interested parties settled down in Ripon to present their assessment of the state of play in Yorkshire and this volume is the result of their deliberations, with some later tweaking. There are 19 papers divided half and half between the period-based and the thematic and fronted by introductory statements and useful chapters on geology and palaeoenvironment. Some idiosyncrasies are immediately apparent; the Iron Age discussion is the only one to be divided into sub-regions, other topics are omitted altogether such as later medieval small towns, even though recent investigations there are trumpeted in the Preface. Most notably, some papers are very brief (Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic are briskly covered in 3 sides) whereas others much more comprehensive, notably the Neolithic and Bronze Age paper which, at 80 pages, takes up 40% of the whole section devoted to the period-based papers. The main reason for this (and here there are clear differences with other regions as to the way in which the process of the producing the framework was organized) is that these are the views of individuals or small groups of co-authors. There is clearly work yet to be done in agreeing the content with a wider constituency and deciding together on a way forward. Stronger editing could certainly have resulted in a more balanced content but one hopes that omission here does not necessarily imply omission when the final future strategy comes to be written.

The second set of papers are not so much thematic as reviews of individual projects. There are useful digests of the latest research into the Humber wetlands, the Heslerton Parish Project and the work of the RCHME and English Heritage in Yorkshire, for example. Overall, the reproduction is superior, with good black and white photographs and plenty of space given to the best images and maps and there is even some colour. Occasionally, some of the contributions have the feel of work in progress; the fonts on the figures are not standardized so the volume

definitely has the feeling of a set of collated papers; Stephen Moorhouse's earthwork plans of medieval sites are reduced versions from original pencilled field surveys, for example, but the quality and immediacy of his text are such that you feel he does not have a moment to spare to get them fully inked. Yorkshire archaeology is blessed to have a contributor with such enthusiasm for medieval landscapes, though I found all the contributions to be well informed, tightly scripted and genuinely useful. The bibliography, often merely a necessary adjunct, is a snapshot of the last generation of archaeological projects in the region and will be a boon to everyone with research interests in the county.

Yorkshire is a special place to do archaeology. It has a trio of university departments, double that number of commercial units, museums and local societies. Once more, the public can be enthused and mobilized, as they have been recently at Thornborough when the landscape around those henges (on the cover here) seemed about to be consumed. There are always threats, but this volume is about the direction of recent research and the opportunities which lie ahead. Whether your interests are in Early Neolithic axes or Later Bronze Age henges or whether you work on monuments or have a broader interest in Roman landscapes there is a huge amount of information here; parts of it are perceptive and punchy, others solid and descriptive; some may be overlong, others downright irritating. At times you crave for more; at others you will wish for rather less. In short, a rich, diverse but robust platform of knowledge on which to build for the future.

Durham

C. M. Gerrard

'OUR MAGNIFICENT FABRICK', YORK MINSTER, AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY 1220-1500. By SARAH BROWN. Pp. 332. Colour pls. 30. Maps 8. Other illus. 358. London, English Heritage, 2003. Price £65 (hbk). ISBN 1 873592 698.

This book is a remarkable achievement. For some forty years the Minster has been the subject of detailed study by the former Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (now English Heritage). During that time there have been major repairs to underpin the crossing (1966-73) and following a fire in 1984, while related archaeological investigations have made new discoveries about the fabric of the present building. During the same period the extensive medieval stained glass was conserved, and its investigation by the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* has thrown new light on both dating and patronage. To draw all this material into a coherent and readable whole is no mean feat. In addition, as the comprehensive bibliography indicates, there is now a substantial specialist literature on related subjects, including for example, the studies published in the Conference Transactions of the British Archaeological Association. Sarah Brown, as general editor of these Transactions, as well as having a long involvement with stained glass studies, is well placed to undertake this synthesis.

It is of course not the whole story of the Minster. The prehistory of the existing fabric has been dealt with by the two volumes on the excavations by Derek Phillips (1985; 1995), and this book stops at the Reformation; there is only a brief summary of later fabric repairs and liturgical changes. Within these limits, the Minster lends itself well to a chronological survey, its different parts providing text-book examples of the traditional phases of English architecture: late Norman crypt, Early English transepts, Decorated chapter house and Lady Chapel, Perpendicular nave. One fascination of the story is the way in which stylistic innovation was tempered by existing circumstances. Thus in the case of the aisled thirteenth-century transepts, the dimensions were determined by the previous transepts and the proportions followed those of the now lost choir, but the result was startlingly novel, fusing Gothic traditions from both northern and southern England. The detailed arguments are immensely helped by the large number of excellent and apposite illustrations placed within the text. They are in themselves a valuable resource for further study, for instance of the wealth of sculpture to be found in the Minster.

The book, however, is rather more than a review of the aesthetics of the different architectural phases, with closely argued evidence about the order of building of each part. It is given life by the close attention to the relationship between patrons and architecture, and asks questions about the functions envisaged for the different parts of the building. The importance of the major shrines and their locations within the building is well brought out. It is useful to be reminded that the tomb of St William was located in the first bay of the nave, so that the new aisled transepts would have improved circulation around his shrine, and it is interesting that after a new shrine was constructed in the choir in 1284, the site of the tomb in the nave was reclaimed as a cult centre in the fourteenth century. The shrine at the east end of the choir, ambitiously reconstructed in the 1470s, survives only as some broken pieces, but is evoked in an eloquent drawing by John Hutchison, demonstrating how necessary it is to envisage the total appearance of the medieval buildings rather than just what remains today, if we are to understand them fully.

Although due attention is paid to the documented names of individual masons, the approach associated with the late John Harvey, it is the individual members of the clergy who emerge as significant influences, often tying together their ambitions for personal memorials with major reconstruction projects. The thirteenth-century transepts with their up-to-date features, initiated under Archbishop Walter de Grey, are seen as a deliberate effort to enhance the prestige of the Minster, with de Grey's own exceptionally sumptuous tomb and chantry setting a pattern for a 'clerical mausoleum'. The building of the Lady Chapel in the later fourteenth century was largely due to Archbishop John de Thoresby; this was chosen as his own place of burial; he not only contributed generously himself, but was clearly a most ingenious fund raiser, diverting a variety of sources of income toward the new enterprise.

A particular strength of the book is its holistic approach to decoration; so that the iconographic evidence to be found in different media is considered together (the heraldry is listed in further detail in an appendix). In the chapter house the sculpture emerges as clearly subservient, marginal embellishment, like that in a manuscript, to the more serious religious themes depicted in the windows and on the painted vault. In the nave the heraldry has a notable royal and secular emphasis, although it is unclear whether those commemorated were being flattered or thanked. Especially intriguing are the mysterious figures of knights and falconers standing in the triforium, suggested as 'a paradigm of the chivalric company attendant upon the king'. A more overtly political message seems to be indicated by the fifteenth-century choir screen, with its sequence of kings proclaiming the Lancastrian succession.

The book succeeds admirably, not only in providing a solidly researched account of the creation of the present Minster but in conveying how the building and ornament of a great cathedral reflects the complex interweaving of secular and religious life that was characteristic of medieval society.

London

Bridget Cherry

SIR THOMAS STANHOPE OF SHELFORD. LOCAL LIFE IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES. By BERYL COLLING AND PAMELA PRIESTLAND. 23 x 18 cm. Pp. 382. Illus. 110. Ashbraken, Radcliffe-on-Trent, 2003. Price £5 plus p. & p. ISBN 1 8723 5610 9. Obtainable from 14 Cropwell Road, Radcliffe-on-Trent, Nottingham, NG12 2FS.

Sir Thomas Stanhope (c. 1540-1596) quarrelled with his wife, his brothers, his sons, his gentry neighbours and most spectacularly of all with Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury, and the authors of this biography have written his life largely from the records of the innumerable law suits in which he was involved. Unlike his father, Sir Michael Stanhope, who through the patronage of his brother-in-law, Edward Seymour, later Duke of Somerset, became governor of Hull at the time of the Scottish wars and then on the death of Henry VIII keeper of the household of the young Edward VI, Sir

Thomas never attained prominence in national politics and concentrated virtually all his energies upon power struggles in south Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Consequently, although this modestly priced book contains a little Yorkshire material relating to Sir Michael Stanhope's period in Hull and to his daughter Julian's disastrous marriage to John Hotham of Scarborough, it will primarily be of interest to Midlands local historians.

York

Claire Cross

MAIDS AND MISTRESSES. CELEBRATING 300 YEARS OF WOMEN AND THE YORKSHIRE COUNTRY HOUSE.

The above title was given to an innovative series of seven linked exhibitions in seven Yorkshire country houses during the summer of 2004 with the support of the Heritage Lottery Fund. The curators of the houses involved – Brodsworth Hall, Burton Constable Hall, Castle Howard, Harewood House, Lotherton Hall, Nostell Priory and Temple Newsam – each put on an exhibition on the single theme of Women in the Yorkshire Country House in a way appropriate to the history and collections of each house. Within the unity of the theme there was therefore great diversity of content with the overall effect of making explicit what has often been a neglected fact: that women as much as men helped create our county and national history. At each house a special leaflet was issued telling the story of the women of that house. In all but one instance, exhibits throughout the house – some on loan for the exhibition but most *in situ* – were specially numbered and described in the leaflet. In many of the exhibitions additional materials from the archives, written by women connected with the house either as mistresses or maids, were on display.

It is invidious to select instances of individual exhibits from the astonishingly rich array of portraits, photographs, artefacts, books and archives represented at the seven sites. Though mistresses figured larger than maids at most houses, pains were taken to spell out the fact that, without armies of female servants the great houses could not have operated at all: Brodsworth's material on its servants, including oral histories, is well-known and was effectively deployed, but Harewood's use of their new Below Stairs exhibition area was also impressive. Portraits inevitably supplied the main visual representation of the mistresses of the houses: all have fine collections, with an abundance at Burton Constable, Castle Howard, Harewood and Temple Newsam. The most memorable include the *Five Daughters of Charles, ninth Viscount Irwin*, by Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788), on loan from the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Halifax at Temple Newsam. The charmingly innocent impishness of these young ladies belies their future importance in the history of leading county families. Equally striking from the same provenance is the portrait of Frances Shephard, Viscountess Irwin, as a shepherdess. This contrasts with the Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of the infamous Lady Worsley, dressed appropriately in regimental scarlet, which is in the Harewood collection; and the gold-digging Rosina, second Lady Clifford Constable at Burton Constable, pictured confidently hunting on her horse while a mere man takes a tumble ahead of her.

Just as interesting as the portraits were the artefacts and archives associated with these extraordinary women: the anonymous *Handbook of Turning* (1842) by Mary Isabella Gascoigne, exhibited at Lotherton, who with her sister Elizabeth was also a designer of stained glass; the costumes for amateur theatricals at Burton Constable; the recipe book and household accounts of Isabella, fourth Countess of Carlisle, at Castle Howard; Sabine, Lady Winn's harpsichord at Nostell Priory; and the diaries and accounts displayed at several of the houses. The exhibition also revealed the impact of these mistresses on their residences: not only the remodelling of Temple Newsam by Frances Irwin, wife of the ninth Viscount; and of Harewood House by Louisa, the third Countess, but also lesser though still important touches in interior design and decoration such as the wallpaper of the Chinese drawing room at Temple Newsam, said to have been given to Lady Hertford by the Prince of Wales.



Adeline Thellusson with statue of Venus in the grounds of Brodsworth Hall. *Courtesy English Heritage*

In each house the exhibition revealed the formidably able and influential women whose conventional neglect now seems inexplicable. Strong stories were told at each location, sometimes confirming (see our article on Sabine Winn of Nostell Priory in this issue), but more often challenging any surviving ideas of women as merely passive

subordinates confined to the private and familial sphere. Though the exhibition is now formally over, it should leave a lasting impact for future visitors to enjoy, especially where permanent exhibits continue to be on display – indeed, at five of the country houses the exhibition is promised to reopen for the 2005 season. But in the longer term, this exhibition should have achieved even more: a permanent change in perception of the role of women in the country house, and it is to be hoped that this will be reflected in the way these houses – and others – are presented in future editions of the guide books. The challenge of this new perspective is most strikingly illustrated in the female family tree contained in the Harewood leaflet. To see a family set out in generations according not to its leading men but to its leading women, is so strikingly unfamiliar as to need no further comment. The Yorkshire Country House Partnership, comprising the University of York, the West Yorkshire County Archive Service, and the seven Country Houses, is to be congratulated on its pioneering achievement. A book to accompany the exhibition, which tells some of the stories, has been published by the Partnership, edited by Ruth Larsen, and is available from the Country Houses. It should spur those who missed the original exhibition to visit the participating houses and to view them with fresh eyes in the near future. Further information can be found on www.ychp.org.uk.

York

Edward Royle

DRAWING FROM THE PAST, WILLIAM WEDDELL AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF NEWBY HALL. An exhibition of architectural drawings from the Newby Hall Archives, Leeds City Art Gallery, 3 November 2004-13 February 2005.

When the West Yorkshire Archive Service purchased the family and estate archives of the Compton family of Newby Hall, near Ripon, in 2001, the Service also acquired a large collection of architectural drawings. Unlike the rest of the archive, these were formerly little known and not readily available for scholarly research. The purchase was very substantially assisted by a grant from the The Art Fund (the National Art Collections Fund) which expressed the wish that the collection should be widely promoted and displayed. Since the Archive Service does not have its own exhibition space arrangements were made for a co-operative venture with Leeds Museums and Galleries, who generously took up the idea and agreed to dedicate not only space in the City Art Gallery, but staff time and expertise to the venture. Financial support was provided by the Heritage Lottery Fund, Leeds Art Collections Fund and The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, thereby enabling publication of a book of illustrated essays to accompany the exhibition (Giles Worsley (ed), *Drawing from the Past, William Weddell and the Transformation of Newby Hall*, Leeds Museums and Galleries, 2004). The Paul Mellon Centre also financed the design of the exhibition by Peter Farmer and Claire Schimmer. The Compton family were themselves generous with their knowledge and experience and made some items from the house available for display. The exhibition was accompanied by an education programme which included demonstrations of stone and wood carving, plasterwork techniques, a drawing workshop, a series of lunchtime and evening lectures and a weekend symposium organised in association with the University of Leeds, again with support from the Paul Mellon Centre.

The drawings themselves form a large collection of about 500 items. Although centred on Newby Hall and William Weddell's building activities there, they relate to numerous properties over a wide area, far beyond Newby itself. They include the interests of the Robinson family in York and at Baldersby, where they built a house to designs by Colen Campbell, at Nappa in Wensleydale, and at Grantham House in Whitehall; there are drawings made and collected by the 2nd Lord Grantham on his grand tour and by his son, later Earl de Grey, who became the first President of the Institute of British Architects; designs for houses of the Vyner family at

Gautby in Lincolnshire and at Bidston in Cheshire; and for William Weddell's London town house in Upper Brook Street. They complement and illuminate the rest of the archive, which contains voluminous series of title deeds, manorial court rolls, estate account books, surveys of lands, estate maps and correspondence occupying some 170 ft of shelving.

The scale and significance of the drawings only came to light as a result of the research undertaken in the late 1970s by Jill Low, in the course of preparing her doctoral thesis at the University of Leeds on the art and architectural patronage of William Weddell and his circle. They were first mentioned in published work by Hugh Honour in 1954, but it does not appear that he saw more than a handful of them. There followed a cluster of references by Lindsay Boynton, John Cornforth and John Harris in the late sixties, when a series of drawings by Colen Campbell was acquired from this source by the RIBA. However, it fell to Dr Low to uncover the full extent of the collection, put them in order and compile the catalogue which remains our means of reference. Her work, without which the drawings might have remained in obscurity, informed the exhibition throughout.

The display drew attention not only to the fine series of Robert Adam's presentation drawings for Newby, but also to the numerous working drawings and details which show how the scheme was realised on site by his trusted assistants and craftsmen. In particular they reveal the role of William Belwood, a local joiner who eventually established an architectural practice of his own. They also provide a body of evidence of the architectural interests of successive generations of the Robinson family. In all these cases these archives contain the main body of evidence of their achievements. Outbuildings and grounds are also covered. There are designs, possibly by Elizabeth Weddell herself, for decorating the farm house at Newby, Lord Grantham's designs for a root house at Baldersby of timber log construction, drawings by Sir William Chambers for an elaborate pheasantry and designs by William Burges for garden terraces, gates and an unexecuted conservatory at Newby and for unrealised estate cottages at neighbouring Studley Royal. Plans for the grounds at Newby are represented by an undated and unsigned plan showing the layout much as represented in the Kip engraving of 1707 and attributed to London and Wise; and also Thomas White's landscape scheme of 1766, which shows the parkland setting we know today. There are also some interesting proposals for kitchen gardens, showing the arrangements for hot walls, greenhouses and forcing frames.

Of course no archive stands entirely alone. Some items have strayed from this collection, most notably those inherited by the Ramsden family through William Weddell's wife, which have now come to rest in the archives of the Pennington family of Muncaster Castle at the Cumbria Record Office in Whitehaven. Two of these, namely Adam's designs for the ceilings of the anti-room and drawing room at Newby, and Weddell's diary of the first part of his grand tour, were included in the exhibition. The family also generously lent the portraits of Mr and Mrs Weddell by Sir Joshua Reynolds. There is other material in the Wrest Park estate archives at the Bedfordshire Record Office. It migrated there on account of Earl de Grey's inheritance of that property from his aunt.

Newby Hall, however, remains the centre of the collection. Therefore it is appropriate that the exhibition focussed on the achievements of William Weddell, the creator of the house as we know it today.

W. J. Connor Formerly Principal Archivist

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[The symposium referred to in Mr Connor's account was held on the weekend of 27 and 28 November 2004 and featured excellent and illuminating papers from a variety of experts on the art, architecture, archives and country houses of Yorkshire. On the Sunday morning a privileged visit to Newby Hall allowed symposium delegates to be guided through the house in the sequence intended for the eighteenth-century visitor, ready to be impressed by the splendid interiors of each room with a fitting climax in

Adam's sculpture gallery. This occasion underlined the value of collaborative work in the exploration and presentation of the history of the county – in this case between the West Yorkshire Archives Service, the Leeds Museums Service, and Mr and Mrs Compton of Newby Hall – fully justifying the generous funding provided to support the exhibition, symposium and visit. As the second example of such collaboration in Yorkshire during 2004, it is to be hoped that this enterprising approach to displaying the county's past will be sustained in years to come – *Editor.*]

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY YORK: CULTURE, SPACE AND SOCIETY. Edited by MARK HALLETT AND JANE RENDALL. 22x30 cm. Pp x + 93. Figs. 44. Maps 2. University of York, Borthwick Text and Calendar 30, York, 2003. Price £25.00 + £1.75 p&p. ISBN 1 904497 05 5.

This attractive and informative volume originated in a lecture series, given in York in 2001 and organised by Jane Rendall; and the proceedings have been edited by her with her colleague Mark Hallett. Their aim has been 'to locate the history of York in the eighteenth century within the context of the stimulating and relevant work in the urban history of provincial Britain that has taken place over the last thirty years'; they point out that there has been, with honourable exceptions, 'a significant absence of focussed research' on Georgian York. Three of the six contributors, and both editors, are members of the interdisciplinary postgraduate Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies at the University of York, and the volume reflects great credit on the Centre's influence, as well as casting more light on the city's history.

The editors could not have done better than to commission the first two chapters from Peter Borsay and Rosemary Sweet. Professor Borsay, author of the pathbreaking *The English Urban Renaissance* (1989) which drew heavily on York examples, here both sets in context the subsequent chapters, and provides a conceptual framework for the whole volume in terms of 'civility, sociability and improvement'. He notes that though Georgian York grew relatively slowly in quantitative terms, it underwent a process of 'qualitative urbanization' which was perhaps more important. His insights are reinforced by Dr Sweet in her analysis of Francis Drake's great *Eboracum* of 1736, focusing on it the insights she has developed in *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (1997) and in *Antiquaries* (2004). In discussing Drake alongside his predecessors and successors, she reminds us of their place in a long tradition of 'exploiting history to enhance a sense of community and identity'. A similar theme is explored by Mark Hallett in a subtle reading of the city's depiction in graphic art, including not only the plates in *Eboracum*, the panoramas of the Buck brothers and the two versions of Cossins' map, but many other views: an interesting line of argument follows the gradual peopling of the views by polite society as well as the buildings.

The editors' preface fairly concedes that the volume cannot provide a comprehensive survey of Georgian York, since much remains to be explored. That can be illustrated by their example of women's history: it does form the subject of one chapter, that by Fay Bond on marriage litigation in the York ecclesiastical courts, but that – fascinating and disturbing as it is – has to rely mainly on marital disputes between couples not resident in York. The two remaining chapters cover other aspects of city life and society. Michael Brown traces the relationships between polite society and the medical profession through the transition from the Doctors' Club (1781-c.1800) to the York Medical Society founded in 1832. Edward Royle concludes with a survey of religion in York between 1740 and 1840, explaining the way in which the Church of England 'lost its monopoly on religious observance', nicely giving the subject a visual dimension in the contrasts between Anglican Gothic and Nonconformist Classical.

All the essays have new and important things to tell us, and an especially welcome feature is the generous coverage of illustrations, especially in Dr Hallett's chapter which creates a real dialogue between text and figures. The handsome cover features the hand-coloured version of the Bucks' panorama of 1745. The index is commendably

full on subjects as well as names. Less satisfactory is the proof-reading, and if the book calls for a reprint – as it deserves to – slips like Mickelgate (pp. 5, 9, 89) and *Britannia* (for *Britannici*, p. 16) can be corrected. Alderman Cornwell's second mayoralty was in 1725, not 1715 (p. 29), and the wall in the foreground of Fig. 17 is not 'a stretch of city wall' (p. 33). Oddest of all, Ribston Hall has somehow become 'Toulston' (p. 16), while Skeldergate Postern becomes 'Shouldergate' both in text and index (pp. 21, 93).

Leeds

D. M. Palliser

CHARTISM IN THE NORTH RIDING OF YORKSHIRE AND SOUTH DURHAM, 1838-48. By R. P. HASTINGS. Pp. 41. Borthwick Paper 105, 2004. Price £4 + 50p. p&p. ISBN 1 904497 09 8. Available from Borthwick Institute, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD.

This, the latest in a very useful series, is a brief but well researched attempt to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of the several phases of Chartism in an area outside the major northern industrial conurbations.

Despite the opening of the Stockton and Darlington and other railways in south Durham, heralding that part of the region's entry into the coastwise coal trade, Dr Hastings demonstrates that in the 1830s the market towns and villages on either side of the Tees were suffering from similar declines in traditional agriculture-based manufacture. Water and steam technology were replacing handloom weaving and depressing wages. Factory-produced cottons were replacing linen and the woollen industry was moving to the towns of West Yorkshire.

All of which might seem to provide a fertile breeding ground for Chartist agitation. However to some extent this economic malaise was offset by the nearby availability of alternative employment in lead mining, railway construction and operation and in the coal trade, and by the solid agricultural base that had been developed by the 'improvers' of the late eighteenth century. The anti Poor Law agitation which formed the starting point for Chartism in many other parts of the country, was largely absent.

This seems to have been one reason why attempts by agitators from outside the region to build on the genuine grievances of distressed handloom weavers in the first wave of Chartism in 1838 received little concrete support in the North Riding although they were somewhat more successful north of the Tees.

The meeting of the Convention and the Birmingham riots put a different complexion on the agitation. At subsequent gatherings in Northallerton and Thirsk, Darlington and Stockton orators drew sufficiently large crowds to panic local magistrates into enrolling special constables and calling for military protection for persons and property. Generally though the sort of confrontation that could have led to physical violence seems to have been avoided and the policy of picking up individual agitators on minor charges and taking them off the streets seems to have worked. The city of York itself remained significantly unmoved. Hastings suggests that this may have been because much of its politically aware artisan population already had the vote. Similarly it may be that in the absence of parliamentary borough status the labouring inhabitants of Stockton or Darlington or Hartlepool saw little immediate advantage in the purely political demands of the Charter and that the workforce in the south Durham coalfield was less interested in voting for MPs to go to Westminster than in the terms of the next wage deal with the coalowners.

In north Yorkshire the Chartist revival of 1841-2 was assisted by the presence, under arrest in York castle, of several prominent figures including O'Connor himself. The enthusiasm that greeted his release created a brief upsurge of support centred on the city itself. For a few months there was a serious attempt to create a much more co-ordinated organisation using some of the pre-existing networks of Temperance societies and the Primitive Methodism that was so strong in the colliery and weaving villages.

As Dr Hastings points out:

‘Local preachers often combined the role of religious leader, trade union official and Chartist ... From the Primitives were borrowed the model of class organisation and open air Camp Meetings’.

But Primitive Methodists with their traditions of self help, mutuality, literacy and temperance were not the stuff of physical force revolution and one of the criticisms that might be made of this study is its failure to discuss the local relationship between the Temperance movement, Primitive Methodism and Chartism in greater detail.

There is a similar lack of engagement with the open question of how far the prolonged miners’ strike of 1844 was Chartist inspired. Dr Hastings sees it rather as a diversion of energies that had formerly been at the service of Chartism but for a movement dependent on unionisation the relationship was surely more complicated than that. At the very least the failure of that strike with the blacklisting and victimisation of those who had combined Chartist sympathies with trade unionism should be recognised as signalling the end of overt Chartism in the south Durham coalfield some years before its final chapter elsewhere .

For the decayed textile areas of north Yorkshire part of the reason for the failure to maintain momentum seems to have been depopulation; migration and emigration, the recognition by males of working age that there was no future in their traditional trades but that in a diversifying economy opportunities existed elsewhere.

The limitations of a short review can hardly pick up on all the issues raised, but not necessarily examined in depth, in this little study which remains nevertheless a useful local contribution to the wider debate on Chartism.

Winifred Stokes

All communications about the editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Archaeology editor, Jill Wilson, Stables Cottage, 331 Havant Road, Farlington, Portsmouth, PO6 1DD. Tel. 023-9237-0649, e-mail pandjwilson@btopenworld.com or to the History editor, Edward Royle, 77 Heworth Green, York, YO31 7TL. Tel. 01904-423009, e-mail eroyle@eroyle77.freescrve.co.uk. Contributions should be prepared in accordance with the Notes for Contributors printed in volume 72 (2000). A copy of these may be had from the Editor, who will be happy to discuss informally any proposed article on the archaeology or history of the historic county of Yorkshire in any period.

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